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THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

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By T. SMOLLET, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAP. LXVII.

Of King CHARLES VI. of FRANCE, and the invaſion of that kingdom by HENRY V. King of England.

PART of the care which Charles V. had taken to re-eſtabliſh France, proved the means of haſtening its ſubverſion. The immenſe treaſures he had amaſſed were diſſipated, and the taxes he impoſed had alienated the minds of his people. It has been obſerved, that this prince expended fifteen hundred marks of gold annually for the maintenance of his houſhold; and his brothers, who were regents of the kingdom during the minority of Charles VI. who came to the crown before he was thirteen, expended upwards of ſeven thouſand, and yet that prince was almoſt in want of

common neceſſaries. Theſe minute details are not to be ſlighted, ſince they frequently prove the ſecret ſprings of ruin in moſt ſtates, as well as in private families.

Lewis of Anjou, one of the uncles of Charles VI. and the ſame who had been adopted by Joan I. queen of Naples, not ſatisfied with having embezzled his pupil's treaſure, loaded the people with exactions. Paris, Rouen, and moſt of the cities roſe up in arms; and the ſame fury which afterwards raged to the deſtruction of Paris in the time of the league in the minority of Lewis XIV. appeared under Charles VI. The public and private puniſhments inflicted on this occaſion, were as cruel as the inſurrection had been outrageous. The great papal ſchiſm which prevailed at that time, and of which we have already treated ‡, contributed to increaſe their diſorders. The popes of Avignon, who were acknowledged by the French court, compleated the impoveriſhment of this kingdom by all the arts which avarice could invent, under the diſguiſe of religion. The people however flattered themſelves that when the king came of age he would make amends for all theſe evils by a more happy government.

He had in perſon revenged the count of Flanders, his vaſſal, on the rebellious Flemings, whom the Engliſh ſtill continued to ſupport; and took advantage of the troubles which diſtracted that unhappy iſland under the reign of Richard II. He likewiſe fitted out a fleet of twelve hundred ſhips, to make a deſcent

1384

‡ See chap. lix.

upon

upon the Engliſh coaſt. This prodigious number of ſhips is by no means incredible; St. Lewis had a much larger fleet. It is true they were only veſſels for tranſporting the troops over; but the eaſe with which they equipped theſe large fleets plainly ſhews, that they had a much greater quantity of timber for building than we have at preſent, and that they were not deficient in point of induſtry. The jealouſy which prevailed at that time between the king's uncles put a ſtop to the ſailing of this fleet; and at laſt it only ſerved as a proof of the reſources France might have been provided with under a good adminiſtration, ſince, notwithſtanding the great quantity of money which the duke of Anjou carried out of the kingdom with him in his unhappy expedition to Naples, it was ſtill able to undertake ſuch great enterpriſes.

At length there ſeemed to be ſome reſpite of the confuſions which had perplexed the kingdom. The king ſet out for Brittany to chaſtiſe the duke, of whom France had ſo much reaſon to complain; when unfortunately, at this very juncture, he was ſeized with a terrible frenzy. This diſtemper began with a drowſineſs, followed by a loſs of underſtanding, and ending at length in a fit of madneſs. When he was firſt ſeized with this fit, he killed four men, and continued ſtriking every one about him, till at length, exhauſted by theſe convulſive motions, he fell into a deep lethargy.

I am not in the leaſt ſurpriſed that all France thought him poiſoned and bewitched. There have been inſtances even in this preſent age, notwithſtanding its improvements in knowledge, of popular prejudices altogether as unjuſt. His

brother, the duke of Orleans, had married Valentina of Milan; and ſhe was accuſed of having been the cauſe of the king's misfortune, which proves that the French, who were at that time very ignorant, thought the Italians had more knowledge than themſelves. This ſuſpicion was ſometime afterwards increaſed by an adventure entirely agreeable to the rudeneſs of thoſe times.

1393 There was a maſquerade at court, in which the king appeared in the dreſs of a ſatyr, dragging four other ſatyrs after him in chains. Their dreſſes were made of linen, daubed over with roſin, to which they had faſtened cords of flax and hemp. The duke of Orleans unfortunately thruſt his torch againſt one of thoſe habits, which took fire in an inſtant. The four lords, who were the four ſatyrs in the maſque, were burnt, and the king's life was with great difficulty preſerved by the happy preſence of mind of his ſiſter-in-law, the dutcheſs of Berry, who wrapped him all over in her mantua. This accident cauſed a return of one of his fits; from which he might probably have been relieved by immediate bleeding, bathing, and a proper regimen; but, inſtead of that, they ſent for a ſorcerer from Montpelier. The ſorcerer came; and the king appeared a little better, which was inſtantly aſcribed to the power of magic. But, by frequent relapſes, the diſorder was rendered ſo inveterate as to become incurable. To compleat the misfortune of France, the king had ſome intervals of ſanity, otherwiſe they might have provided for the government of the kingdom; thus the little

ſhare

ſhare of reaſon he enjoyed, proved more fatal than even his fits: the eſtates were never aſſembled, nor was the leaſt regulation made in the public adminiſtration. The king ſtill continued king, entruſting his deſpiſed authority and the care of his perſon ſometimes to his brother and at other times to his uncles the dukes of Burgundy and Berry. It was ſtill a farther addition to the misfortunes of the ſtate, that theſe princes had very conſiderable inheritances in the kingdom; in courſe Paris became the theatre of a civil war, ſometimes privately, ſometimes openly carried on. Factions prevailed every where, and even the very univerſity pretended to a ſhare in the government.

Every body knows that John duke of Burgundy cauſed his couſin, the duke of Orleans to be aſſaſſinated in the *rue Barbette**. The king had neither underſtanding nor power enough to bring the aggreſſor to juſtice. However, the duke of Burgundy thought it neceſſary to take out letters of grace, after which he came to court, and triumphed in his crime. He aſſembled all the princes and grandees; and, in the preſence of them all, doctor John Petit not only juſtified the murder of the duke of Orleans, but likewiſe eſtabliſhed the doctrine of homicide, which he founded upon the example of thoſe aſſaſſinations we read of in the hiſtorical books of the holy writ. Thus did this preacher impudently erect into a doctrine what thoſe books only deliver to us as an event, in- 1407

* A ſtreet in Paris ſo called.

ſtead of acting agreeable to the duties of his calling, by telling men that a murder related in the holy ſcripture is as truly deteſtable as if it was found in the annals of ſavages, or in the times of which I am ſpeaking. This evil doctrine was condemned, as we have ſeen †, at the council of Conſtance, and has nevertheleſs been ſince revived.

It was at this time that the marechal de Boucicaut ſuffered Genoa to be loſt, which had put itſelf under the protection of France. The French were all maſſacred there, as they had been before in Sicily ‡. The flower of the nobility, who had gone to ſignalize themſelves in Hungary againſt the Turkiſh emperor Bajazet, were all cut off in the fatal battle loſt by the Chriſtians. But theſe misfortunes without doors were ſmall in compariſon with thoſe which befel the ſtate at home.

Iſabella of Bavaria, Charles's queen, had a party in Paris, the duke of Burgundy had his, and the children of the late duke of Orleans had another, which was very conſiderable. The poor king alone had no party. But what will ſerve to ſhew us how conſiderable the city of Paris was at that time, and what influence it had on the other parts of the kingdom is, that the duke of Burgundy, who to the province of which he bore the title, added all Flanders and Artois, made it the principal object of his ambition to become maſter of Paris. His faction was called the Burgundians, and that of Orleans

† See chap lx. ‡ See chap. xlix.

went

went by the name of the Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, ſon to him who had been aſſaſſinated in Paris. Whoſoever of theſe two factions had the upper hand, never let ſlip any opportunity of hanging, murdering, or burning all of the oppoſite party; ſo that no perſon was ſure of his life for a day together. They fought in the ſtreets, in the houſes, in the fields, and in the very churches.

Here was a very favourable opportunity for England to recover her antient patrimony in France, as well as thoſe ceded to her by treaties: and Henry V. who was a prince of equal courage and prudence did not ſuffer it to paſs unnoticed, but negotiated and made preparations of war at the ſame time. He makes a deſcent into Normandy with an army of near fifty thouſand men, takes Harfleur, and advances 1415
into the midſt of a country torn in pieces by factions, and unable to reſiſt him; but three fourths of his army were carried off by a contagious dyſentery. Nevertheleſs, this great invaſion ſerved to unite all parties againſt the Engliſh; even Burgundy himſelf, though he had already been treating privately with the king of England, ſent five hundred men in arms with ſome croſs bow-men to the aſſiſtance of his country. All the nobility mounted on horſeback, and the commoners marched under their banners: ſo that the conſtable d'Albret ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand fighting men.

The ſame ſucceſs which formerly waited on Edward III. now followed Henry V. but the

principal reſemblance was in the battle of Agincourt, which was in every reſpect like
1415 that of Crecy. The Engliſh won it almoſt as ſoon as it begun. Their tall bows, which were almoſt the height of a man, and which they made uſe of with ſurpriſing ſtrength and ſkill, ſoon determined the victory in their favour; but they had neither cannons nor fuſils, which is another corroborating proof that there were none uſed at the battle of Crecy. Perhaps theſe bows are much more formidable weapons. I have ſeen ſome of them that would carry farther than a fuſil; and they may be uſed with much more diſpatch, and laſt longer. However they are now entirely out of uſe. It may further be obſerved, that the gendarmerie of France fought on foot at the battle of Agincourt, and at thoſe of Crecy and Poitiers; whereas, had they been mounted, they would in all probability have formed an invincible corps. There happened on this memorable day a thing moſt horrible even in war. While the armies were ſtill engaged, ſome militia of Picardy came behind the Engliſh to plunder their camp; upon which Henry ordered his men to kill all the priſoners they had taken They were accordingly put to the ſword; and after this the Engliſh took fourteen thouſand men, whoſe lives they ſpared. Seven princes of France were ſlain this day, together with the conſtable. Five princes were taken priſoners, and above ten thouſand Frenchmen were left in the field of battle.

It would ſeem that after ſo deciſive a victory, Henry had nothing to do but to march to Paris, and

and compleat the conqueſt of a divided, exhauſted, and ruined kingdom. But theſe very ruins were ſomewhat fortified; for it is a certain fact, that from this battle of Agincourt, which threw all France into mourning, and which coſt the Engliſh only three perſons of any note, the victors reaped no other fruit than glory. Henry was obliged to return to England in order to raiſe money and freſh troops.

The ſpirit of giddineſs and inconſtancy, which had ſeized the French nation as well as their king, did what the defeat of Agincourt had not been able to do. Two dauphins were already dead, and the third, who was afterwards Charles VII. and at that time was only ſixteen years of age, endeavoured to ſave the remains of this great wreck. The queen, his mother, had extorted letters patent from her huſband, by which ſhe was entruſted with the reins of government. She was a covetous and ambitious woman, and greatly addicted to gallantry. The treaſure of which ſhe had plundered the kingdom and her huſband, ſhe had carefully depoſited in ſeveral places, particularly in the churches. The dauphin and the Armagnac faction, who had diſcovered this money, made uſe of it for the preſſing wants of the public. To this affront which ſhe received from her ſon, the king added another of a more ſenſible nature. One evening as he was going to pay a viſit to the queen in her own apartment, he met the lord of Bois-bourdon, coming out; he inſtantly ordered him to be apprehended, put to the torture, and afterwards ſewn up in a ſack, and thrown into 1415

the Seine *. The queen was directly ſent priſoner to Blois, and from thence to Tours, without being ſuffered to ſpeak with her huſband. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt, which placed the crown of France on the king of England's head. The queen implored the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, who embraced this opportunity of eſtabliſhing his own authority on theſe new diſaſters of his country.

The duke releaſed the queen from her confinement at Tours, ravaged the country all the way he marched, and at length concluded a league with the king of England. Without this alliance there would have been no revolution. Henry V. at length aſſembles an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and lands a ſecond time in Normandy. From thence he advances towards Paris, while John duke of Burgundy preſents himſelf before the gates of this city, where a poor ſenſeleſs king remained ſhut up a prey to every kind of ſedition. The duke of Burgundy's faction in one day maſſacred the conſtable d'Armagnac, the archbiſhops of Rheims and Tours, five prelates, the abbot of St. Denis, and forty magiſtrates. The queen and the duke of Burgundy made their triumphal entry into Paris in the midſt of all this blood and ſlaughter. The dauphin was obliged to fly beyond the Loire, and Henry V. was already

* He was ſuſpected of carrying on a criminal commerce with the queen: but he was not thrown into the river until after he had been racked at the Chatelet, and confeſſed the crime laid to his charge; if that can be called a confeſſion which is extorted by torments.

maſter

maſter of all Normandy. And now the king's party, as likewiſe thoſe of the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and the dauphin, were all in treaty at the ſame time with the king of England; treachery and diſſimulation were equal on all ſides. The young dauphin, who was at that time governed by Tangui du Chaſtel, at length contrived that unhappy interview with the duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau. Each of them came attended by ten knights; and Tangui du Chaſtel ſlew the Duke of Burgundy in the preſence of the dauphin: thus was the murder of the duke of Orleans revenged by another murder, which was ſo much the more deteſtable, as being accompanied by violation of public faith. 1418 1419

One would be almoſt tempted to believe that this murder was not premeditated, ſo very badly had they taken their meaſures for ſupporting the conſequences. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who ſucceeded his father, became of courſe an enemy to the dauphin, through duty as well as politics. The queen his mother, whom he had incenſed, became as implacable as a ſtep-mother; while the king of England, taking advantage of theſe horrid circumſtances, proclaimed that God led him by the hand to puniſh the iniquitous French. Then it was that queen Iſabella and the new duke of Burgundy, Philip, concluded a peace with Henry at Troyes, which proved more fatal to France than all the preceding wars had done; and by which they gave Catherine, daughter to Charles VI. in marriage 1420

to the king of England, together with France for her dowry.

It was at the ſame time agreed that Henry ſhould be acknowledged king, but that he ſhould only bear the title of regent during the remainder of the unhappy life of the king of France, who was now become altogether childiſh. In fine, it was determined by the contract, that the perſon ſtiling himſelf dauphin, ſhould be purſued with the utmoſt vigour. Queen Iſabella conducted her wretched huſband and her daughter to Troyes, where the marriage was conſummated. Henry now become king of France, made his entry peaceably into Paris, and governed without oppoſition; while Charles VI. continued ſhut up with a few domeſtics in the Hotel de St. Paul, and queen Iſabella began already to drink deep of the cup of repentance.

Philip duke of Burgundy appeared before the two kings at the Hotel de St. Paul, when the few remaining grandees of the kingdom were aſſembled, and ſolemnly demanded juſtice for the murder of his father. The procurator general of Burgundy, Nicholas Raulin, and a doctor of the univerſity of Paris, named John Larcher, prefer articles of accuſation againſt the dauphin. The firſt preſident of Paris, with ſome few deputies of his body, aſſiſted at this aſſembly.

The advocate general Marigni, made a ſpeech againſt the dauphin, not as the preſumptive heir, and defender of the crown, but as againſt a common aſſaſſin. Upon this the parliament ſummoned the dauphin to appear at the marble table, as it is called. This is a large table, which

which was uſed in the time of St. Lewis, for receiving the fines paid for vaſſalage, at the tower of the Louvre, and which ever after remained as a kind of mark of juriſdiction. But the dauphin not appearing, he was condemned for contumacy *.

It was a very nice and difficult queſtion to decide whether this court had a power of judging the dauphin, whether the Salic law could be ſubverted on this occaſion, and whether, as no vengeance had been taken for the murder of the duke of Orleans, the death of his murderer could claim revenge. We know that long after this Philip II. of Spain, cauſed his own ſon to be murdered †, and that Coſmo I. duke of Florence put one of his ſons to death who had murdered the other. This fact is undoubtedly true, and Varillas has been very wrongfully accuſed of falſity in this relation. The preſident de Thou plainly proves that he was informed of all the circumſtances upon the ſpot; and in our time Czar Peter the Great condemned one of his ſons to death. Dreadful examples! but in which the ſon's inheritance was not given away to a foreigner.

The dauphin retired into Anjou, where he led the life of an exile. Henry V. king of France and England, returned to London in order to raiſe freſh ſupplies and new troops. It was

* See chap lxxvii.

† So ſay Pierre Matthieu, and ſeveral other French authors: but this fact is denied by Cabrera, Colmenares, Ferreras, and all the Spaniſh hiſtorians, as well as Morofini, author of the Hiſtoria della Citta e republica di Venetia, who inſpected the diſpatches of the Venetians miniſter at the court of Madrid.

Don Carlos, the ſon of Philip II. having attempted more than once to do violence upon himſelf, and being deprived of

was not the intereſt of the people of England, who have a ſtrong paſſion for liberty, that their king ſhould be maſter of France, as in this caſe their country would be in danger of becoming a province to a foreign kingdom; and, after draining itſelf to eſtabliſh its prince in Paris, would have ſeen itſelf reduced to ſlavery by the forces of that very country which it had conquered, and which its king had in his hands.

However Henry V. ſoon returned to Paris with more authority than ever: he had treaſures and armies at his command, and was moreover in the prime of his life; from all which it was probable that the crown of France was likely to be transferred for ever to the houſe of Lancaſter. But death cut ſhort theſe mighty hopes and ſucceſſes. Henry was ſeized with a fiſtula ‡. In theſe days of greater knowledge he might poſſibly have been cured, but the ignorance of the times was the cauſe of his death; and he expired at the caſtle of Vincennes, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His
1422 body lay in ſtate at St. Denis, as is practiſed with the kings of France, after which it was carried to England, and depoſited at Weſtminſter among the kings of England.

Soon after, Charles VI. who had been
1422 ſuffered out of compaſſion, to enjoy the empty title of king, ended his wretched days,

---

of every inſtrument which he could employ for the purpoſe of ſuicide, ate voraciouſly of every thing that was ſet before him; and ſwallowed great quantities of cold water, which occaſioned a dyſentery that proved mortal. The ſame imputation of ſuicide was brought on the ſame ſlender foundation againſt Peter Czar of Muſcovy.

‡ This is a miſtake of father Daniel. The Engliſh hiſtorians agree, that Henry died of a dyſentery.

after

after having paſſed near thirty years in almoſt continual fits of madneſs, the unhappieſt of kings, and king of the unhappieſt people in Europe.

The duke of Bedford, brother to Henry V. was the only perſon who attended his funeral. There was not one of the great lords preſent at the ceremony: ſome of them had been ſlain at the battle of Agincourt, the remainder were priſoners in England; and the duke of Burgundy would not yield precedency to the duke of Bedford: but he was ſoon after obliged to give way in every thing, for Bedford was declared regent of France: and Henry VI. ſon of Henry V. a minor only nine months old, was proclaimed king at Paris, and at London. The city of Paris even ſent deputies to London, to take the oath of allegiance to this infant.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Of FRANCE, in the time of CHARLES VII.

THIS inundation which overſpread France from England, was much the ſame with that which happened to England from the French, in the time of Lewis VIII. but it was of longer duration, and more violent. Charles VII. had his kingdom to recover inch by inch. He had to fight againſt the duke of Bedford, who was as abſolute as Henry V. and againſt the duke of Burgundy, now become one of the moſt powerful princes in Europe, by having annexed Hainault, Brabant, and Holland, to his former domaines. Beſides, Charles

Charles had as much to fear from his friends as his foes; moſt of them inſulting his miſfortunes to ſuch a degree, that the count de Richemont, his conſtable, and brother to the duke of Brittany, cauſed two of his favourites to be ſtrangled.

We may judge of the deplorable ſituation to which Charles was reduced, from the neceſſity he was under of making the ſilver mark paſs for ninety livres in the places ſubject to his obedience, inſtead of a half livre which it was worth in the time of Charlemagne.

He was likewiſe ſoon obliged to have recourſe to another much ſtranger expedient, namely, to a miracle. A gentleman upon the frontiers of Lorrain, whoſe name was Baudricourt, happened to meet with a young ſervant wench at an inn in the town of Vaucouleurs, whom he thought a fit perſon to act the character of a female warrior, and a propheteſs. Joan d'Arc, (which was the name of this heroine,) and whom the vulgar look upon as a ſhepherdeſs, was in fact only a tavern girl. "Of a robuſt make, as Monſtrelet ſays, and who could ride without a ſaddle, and perform other manly exerciſes which young maidens are unaccuſtomed to." She was made to paſs for a young ſhepherdeſs of eighteen; and yet it is evident from her confeſſion that ſhe was at that time ſeven and twenty. She had courage and wit ſufficient to engage in this delicate enterprize, which afterwards became an heroic one, and ſuffered herſelf to be carried before the king at Bourges, where ſhe was examined by matrons, who took care to find her a virgin, and by certain doctors of the univerſity, and ſome members of the parliament,

liament, who all without heſitation declared her inſpired. Whether they were really impoſed upon themſelves, or that they were crafty enough to give into the project, the vulgar ſwallowed the bait, and that was ſufficient.

The Engliſh were at that time beſieging Orleans, Charles's laſt reſource, 1422 and were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of the town, when this amazon in man's dreſs, directed by able officers, undertakes to throw ſuccours into the town. Previous to her attempt, ſhe harangues the ſoldiers, as one ſent from God, and inſpires them with that enthuſiaſtical courage peculiar to all who imagine they behold the deity himſelf fighting their cauſe. After this ſhe puts herſelf at their head, delivers Orleans, beats the Engliſh, foretels to Charles that ſhe will ſee him conſecrated at Rheims, and fulfils her promiſe with ſword in hand, and aſſiſts at the coronation, holding the ſtandard with which ſhe had ſo bravely fought.

Theſe rapid victories obtained by a girl, with all the appearances of a miracle, and the king's coronation, which conciliated the public reſpect to his perſon, had very near reſtored the lawful prince, and expelled the foreign pretender, when the inſtrument of all theſe wonders, Joan d'Arc, was wounded and taken priſoner in defending Compiegne. 1429 Such a perſon as the Black Prince would have honoured and reſpected her courage; but the regent Bedford thought it neceſſary to detract from it, in order to revive the drooping ſpirits of the Engliſh. She had pretended to perform a mi-

a miracle, and Bedford pretended to believe her a witch ‡.

My principal end is always to obſerve the ſpirit of the times, ſince it is that which directs the great events of the world.

The univerſity of Paris preſented a complaint againſt Joan, accuſing her of hereſy and witchcraft. Therefore this univerſity either believed what the regent would have it believe; or if it did not believe it, it was guilty of moſt infamous baſeneſs. This heroine, who was worthy of that miracle which ſhe had feigned, was tried at Rouen by Cauchon biſhop of Beauvais, by five other French biſhops, and one Engliſh biſhop, aſſiſted by a Dominican monk, vicar to the inquiſition, and by the doctors to the univerſity; who declared her "a ſuperſtitious propheteſs of the devil, a blaſphemer againſt God and his ſaints, and one who had been guilty of numberleſs errors againſt the faith of Chriſt." As ſuch ſhe was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and to faſt on bread and water. She made a reply to her judges, which, in my opinion, is worthy of eternal memory. Being aſked, why ſhe dared to aſſiſt at the conſecration of Charles as his ſtandard-bearer? "Becauſe, anſwered ſhe, it is but juſt, that the perſon who ſhared in the toil, ſhould partake likewiſe of the honour."

‡ It appears from the duke of Bedford's letter to the king, written after the ſiege of Orleans was raiſed, that he actually believed ſhe was an inchantreſs inſpired by the devil. Had he thought otherwiſe he would not at this juncture have propagated a belief which he muſt have known would diſpirit his army.

Some

Some time after this, being accuſed of having again put on men's cloaths, 1431 which had been left in her way purpoſely to tempt her, her judges, who certainly had no right to try her, as ſhe was a priſoner of war, declared her a relapſed heretic; and, without further ceremony, condemned to the flames, a perſon who, for the ſervices ſhe had rendered her king, would have had altars erected to her in thoſe heroic times, when mankind were wont to decree ſuch honours to their deliverers. Charles VII. afterwards reſtored her memory with honour, which indeed 1431 had been ſufficiently honoured by her puniſhment.

Cruelty alone is not ſufficient to carry men to ſuch executions; there muſt likewiſe be a certain fanaticiſm, compoſed of ſuperſtition and ignorance, which has been the common malady of almoſt all ages. Some time before this, the Engliſh had condemned a princeſs of Glouceſter † to do penance in St. Paul's church, and a female friend of hers was burnt alive upon pretence of certain magic practices againſt the king's life. They had likewiſe burnt the lord Cobham for an heretic: and in Brittany had inflicted the ſame puniſhment on the marechal de Retz, who was accuſed of ſorcery, and with having butchered young children for the ſake of making uſe of their blood in his pretended incantations.

† This was Eleonora dutcheſs of Glouceſter, the wife of the king's uncle, whom the people diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of *Good duke Humphry*. She was decoyed into theſe practices by the emiſſaries of the cardinal of Wincheſter, the uncle and implacable enemy of her husband.

In

In theſe unhappy times, the communication between the provinces was ſo interrupted, and the people bordering upon each other were ſo much ſtrangers, that an enterpriſing woman, a few years after the death of the maid of Orleans, had the boldneſs to aſſume her name in Lorraine, reſolutely averring that ſhe had eſcaped the puniſhment intended her, and that a phantom had been burnt in her room. But what is more ſtrange than all the reſt is, that the people believed this idle ſtory. The impoſtor was loaded with honours and wealth: and a perſon of the family of Armoiſes, publicly eſpouſed her in 1436, thinking to marry a real heroine, who, though meanly born, was at leaſt upon an equality with him by the grandeur of her actions.

During the war, which was rather tedious than deciſive, and the ſource of many miſeries, there happened another event which ſaved the kingdom of France. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, merited this name by at length forgiving the death of his father, and joining with the head of his family againſt a foreign invader. He even carried this generoſity ſo far as to deliver the duke of Orleans, the ſon of him who had been aſſaſſinated at Paris, from his long confinement in London, by paying his ranſom, which is ſaid to have amounted to 300,000 gold crowns, an exaggeration common with the writers of thoſe times. But ſtill this behaviour was a proof of great virtue. There have always been ſome great ſouls in the moſt corrupted times. This prince's virtue however did not prevent him from giving a looſe to pleaſure, and the love of women,

women, which can never be a vice but when it prompts to bad actions. It is this ſame Philip, who in 1330 inſtituted the order of the Golden Fleece, in honour of one of his miſtreſſes. He had fifteen baſtards, who were all perſons of merit. His court was the moſt brilliant in Europe: and the cities of Antwerp and Bruges, by their extenſive commerce, ſpread plenty over the land. In fine, France was indebted to him for her peace and grandeur, which ever afterwards continued to increaſe, notwithſtanding her many adverſities, and her wars domeſtic and foreign.

Charles VII. recovered his kingdom in much the ſame manner as Henry IV. conquered it one hundred and fifty years afterwards. Charles indeed had not that noble courage, that quick and active mind, nor that heroic character, which diſtinguiſhed Henry IV. but, like him, he was frequently obliged to keep fair with his foes as well as with his friends, to fight ſkirmiſhes, to take towns, ſome by ſurprize, and ſome by money, till at length he entered Paris in the ſame manner as Henry IV. afterwards made his entrance, partly by intrigue and partly by force. They were both declared incapable of wearing the crown, and they both forgave the injuries they had received. They had likewiſe one weakneſs common to both, that of neglecting their affairs ſometimes to follow the purſuit of their pleaſures.

Charles did not make his entry into Paris till the year 1437, and it was till near 1450 that the Engliſh were totally driven out of France. They then retained only Calais and Guines: and for ever loſt thoſe vaſt demeſnes which their

their kings had been poſſeſſed of by right of blood, and which they could not ſecure to their poſterity, by the three great victories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The diviſions in England contributed as much as Charles VII. to the re-union of France; and Henry VI. who had worn the crowns of both kingdoms, and had come to Paris to receive that of France, was dethroned in England by his own relations, reſtored again, and again dethroned.

Charles, being now in the peaceable poſſeſſion of France, eſtabliſhed ſuch order and regularities in that country as had never been ſeen there ſince the decline of the family of Charlemagne. He kept regular companies of 1500 gendarmes. Each of theſe gendarmes were to ſerve with ſix horſes, ſo that every troop was compoſed of 9000 horſemen. Every captain of an hundred had 1700 livres *per annum*, which comes to about ten thouſand livres of our preſent currency. Each gendarme had 360 livres yearly pay, and each of the five men who accompanied him had four livres of the currency of thoſe times *per* month. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a body of 45000 archers, who had each the ſame allowance of four livres *per* month, or about 24 of the preſent currency. Thus, in time of peace, theſe troops coſt him five millions ſix hundred thouſand livres of our money. Things have changed greatly ſince that time in Europe. This eſtabliſhment of archers ſhews that the uſe of muſquets was not then much known. This inſtrument of deſtruction did not come to be commonly uſed till the time of Lewis XI.

Beſides

Beſides theſe troops, who were in conſtant ſervice, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it is by this exemption, which otherwiſe was peculiar to the nobility, that ſuch a number of perſons ſoon claimed the title of gentlemen both by name and arms. The poſſeſſors of fiefs were diſpenſed from the ban, which was now no longer called; there being only an arrear-ban †, compoſed of the meſnus vaſſals, who ſtill remained ſubject to be called upon on theſe occaſions.

It has been matter of ſurprize, that, after ſo many diſaſters, France ſhould ſtill have continued poſſeſſed of ſuch a number of reſources, and ſo much money. But a country which is rich in natural productions, will be ever ſo, while the cultivation of it is properly attended to. Civil wars, though they ſhake the body of the ſtate, do not deſtroy it; for the murders and ravages which ruin ſome families, enrich others: and the merchants become better verſed in the arts of commerce, from the neceſſity there is of making uſe of art to protect themſelves from the general ſtorm. Jacques Coeur is a ſtrong example of this. This man had eſtabliſhed the greateſt trade that any one private perſon in Europe had yet embarked in. Coſmo of Medicis is the only one who, ſince his time, ever equalled him in this reſpect. Jacques Coeur employed three hundred factors in Italy and the Levant. He lent 200,000 gold crowns to the king, without which he would never

† Ban, and arrear-ban, a proclamation whereby all that held lands of the crown are ſummoned to ſerve the king in his wars.

have

have been able to retake Normandy. His induſtry was more uſeful during the peace, than either the valour of Dunois †, or the Maid of Orleans, in time of war. It is perhaps one of the greateſt blots upon the memory of Charles VII. that he ſuffered ſo uſeful a member of community to be perſecuted. We know not the reaſon of this: for indeed who can find out the ſecret ſprings of the faults and unjuſt dealings of men?

The king cauſed him to be thrown into priſon, and he was tried by the parliament. Nothing however could be proved againſt him, only that he had cauſed a chriſtian ſlave, who had betrayed and deſerted his Turkiſh maſter, to be returned to him again; and had ſold arms to the ſultan of Egypt. For theſe two actions, one of which was allowable, and the other ſtrictly virtuous, he was condemned to forfeit all his poſſeſſions. On this occaſion his clerks gave a proof of greater integrity than the courtiers who cauſed his ruin: almoſt all of them joined in aſſiſting him in his diſgrace. Jacques Coeur afterwards retired to Cyprus, where he continued to carry on buſineſs; and, though recalled, never again ventured to reviſit his ungrateful country.

† Otherwiſe called the baſtard of Orleans, as being the natural ſon of Lewis duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon of Charles V. His mother was Mariette d'Enguieu, the wife of Aubert de Cany, a knight of Picardy. The baſtard diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct, which in a great meaſure contributed to the expulſion of the Engliſh from France. He was created count of Dunois and Longueville, appointed great chamberlain of France, and ſurnamed *the Victorious*.

The

The close of Charles VII.'s reign proved happy enough to France, though very unhappy to this prince himself, whose latter days were embittered by the rebellion of his unnatural son, afterwards Lewis XI.

CHAP. LXIX.

Of MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS and SCIENCES, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries.

WILLING to turn from the repetition of so many miseries and mutual quarrels, the dismal objects of history and the common places of human wickedness; I shall now examine mankind as members of society, enquire into their private lives, and in what manner the arts were cultivated amongst them.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, it appears to me, that they begun in Italy, notwithstanding the dissentions which prevailed every where, to emerge from that brutality which had in a manner overwhelmed Europe, after the decline of the Roman empire. The necessary arts had never been entirely lost. The artificers and merchants, whose humble station had protected them from the ambitious fury of the great, were like ants, who dug themselves peaceable and secure habitations, while the eagles and vultures of the world were tearing one another in pieces.

Even in theſe ages of ignorance, we meet with many uſeful inventions, which were the fruits of that mechanical genius wherewith nature endows certain men, independent of the helps of philoſophy. Thus, for example, the ſecret of aſſiſting the impaired ſight of old people, by thoſe glaſſes called *beſicles*, was the production of the latter part of the thirteenth century. This noble ſecret was diſcovered by Alexander Spina *. The mills which work by the help of wind, are likewiſe of the ſame date. La Flamma †, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the firſt writer in whom we find any mention of them. But this was an art known long before both to the Greeks and Arabians, and we find it ſpoken of by the Arabian poets of the ſeventh century. Earthen-ware, which then

* Alexander Spina was a monk of the order of St. Dominic, belonging to the convent of St. Catherine at Piſa. He lived in the thirteenth century, and was ſo famous for a mechanical turn, that in an antient MS. ſtill preſerved in the convent, he is mentioned with this eulogium. "Quæcunque vidit aut audivit facta, ſcivit et facere. Ocularia ab aliquo prima facta, et communicare nolente, ipſe fecit et communicavit." Hence it appears he was not the firſt inventor of ſpectacles, tho' he deſervd all the honour of the invention. That kind which he made were fixed to ſtraps, occaſionally tied behind the head, and are known in France by the name *beſicles*.

It is a great queſtion among the learned, whether the antients were acquainted with the uſe of ſpectacles. The words *Faber ocularius*, and *ocularíarius*, are found upon ſome ſepulchral marbles.

† This was Galvanus Flamma or Fiamma, a native of Milan, of which he wrote a hiſtory, intituled, *Flos Florum*. He likewiſe taught philoſophy: but his hiſtory is in very little reputation, becauſe he adopted all the extravagant fables of the authors from whom it was compiled.

ſupplied the place of porcelain or china, was invented at Faenza†. The uſe of glaſs had been known long before; but that manufacture was ſcarce, and it was eſteemed a kind of luxury to uſe it. This art was afterwards carried into England by the French in 1180, and was then looked upon as an article of great magnificence.

The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century who had the ſecret of making chriſtal glaſs for mirrours. In Italy there were ſome few clocks which went by wheels; that at Bologna was reckoned the moſt famous. That miraculous and uſeful inſtrument the compaſs owed its invention entirely to chance, and mankind had not their views ſufficiently dilated at that time to make a proper uſe of this diſcovery. The invention of paper, made of linen rags beaten, and boiled together to a conſiſtence, is of the fourteenth century. The hiſtorian, Cortuſius of Padua, ſpeaks of one Pax, who eſtabliſhed the firſt paper manufactory in that city above a century before the invention of printing. In this manner were the uſeful arts eſtabliſhed by degrees, and chiefly by ignorant and illiterate men.

There were few ſuch cities in all Europe as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Piſa, and Florence. Almoſt all the houſes in France, Germany, and England, were covered only with

† Faenza, a city of Romagna, in the pope's dominions in Italy, ſituated on the Amone, famous for its earthenware, and its often ſhifting maſters. It is the ſee of a biſhop, and lies 34 miles eaſt of Bologna.

ſtraw *. They were the ſame in the cities of leſſer note in Italy, ſuch as Alexandria de la Paglia, Nicea de la Paglia, &c.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt tracts of uncultivated lands which were wholly covered with wood, they had not yet learnt to ſecure themſelves from the cold by the help of chimneys or ſtoves, which are in uſe now-a-days in all our apartments, and which ſerve at once for ornament and convenience. A whole family then were wont to ſeat themſelves round an hearth placed in the midſt of the room, from whence a long funnel ran up through the top of the roof. La Flamma, a writer of the fourteenth century, complains, like moſt injudicious authors, that, in his time, frugality and ſimplicity had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbaroſſa and Frederic II. when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they eat meat only thrice a week. Wine was then a rarity. Tapers were not known, and candles were luxurious ornaments. The better ſort of inhabitants, according to him, made uſe of pieces of dried wood, lighted at the fire. They only eat hot meat three times a week; their ſhirts were of ſerge, no linen being then worn but by people of great diſtinction: and the dowry of a daughter of the moſt conſiderable citizen did not exceed at moſt an hundred livres. "Things, adds he, are greatly changed at preſent. They now wear linen in common; the women dreſs themſelves in ſilken ſtuffs, and ſome of them are even

* There were brick houſes in London as far back as the reign of Alfred.

mixed

mixed with gold and ſilver: they have now 2000 livres to their portion, and even adorn their ears with gold pendants." And yet this luxury, of which la Flamma complains ſo grievouſly, was far inferior in ſome reſpects to what we now look upon as common neceſſaries for a rich and induſtrious tradeſman.

Table linen was very ſcarce in England, and wine was ſold only by the apothecaries as a cordial. The houſes of private perſons, both at Paris and London, were all built of wood; for women to ride in a cart in the ſtreets of Paris, which were then ſcarcely paved, and all covered with mud, was looked upon as an article of luxury, and, as ſuch, forbidden by Philip the Fair. Every one knows the regulation made under the reign of Charles VI. "Nemo audeat dare præter duo fercula cum potagio *." Nevertheleſs, in the houſes of the lords of fiefs, and the principal prelates, there was always as great magnificence as the times could afford. This neceſſarily ſpread itſelf among the poſſeſſors of large lands: but the uſe of ſilver or gold plate was in a manner wholly unknown in moſt of the cities. Muſſus, who was a native of Lombardy, and wrote in the fourteenth century, mentions ſilver forks, ſpoons, and cups, as very extravagant articles.

"The maſter of a family, ſays he, who has nine or ten people to maintain, with two horſes, is obliged to expend near 300 gold florins *per annum*," which was about 3000 livres of our preſent money.

* The meaning of the Latin ſentence is, That no perſon ſhall give more than two diſhes with potage.

Money therefore was extremely ſcarce in moſt parts of Italy, and ſtill more ſo in France, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The people of Florence and Lombardy, who alone carried on the trade with France and England, and the Jews, who were their brokers, had twenty *per cent. per annum*, for the common intereſt of their money. Exceſſive uſury is an infallible ſign of public poverty.

King Charles V. amaſſed conſiderable riches by his good oeconomy, and the prudent management of his demeſnes (which were then the only revenues of our kings) and by the impoſts which had been deviſed under Philip of Valois; which, though trivial in themſelves, cauſed great murmurings among an indigent people. His miniſter cardinal de Grange had grown too rich. But all theſe treaſures were diſperſed in other countries. The cardinal carried his to Avignon, and the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. diſſipated that prince's money in his unfortunate expedition into Italy, and France remained miſerably poor till the latter end of the reign of Charles VII.

But it was not thus in the beautiful and trading cities of Italy. There the people lived in affluence and eaſe. With them alone the ſweets of life ſeemed to have taken up their reſidence, and riches and liberty inſpired their genius, and elevated their courage.

The Italian tongue was not yet formed in the reign of Frederic II. as we may perceive by ſome verſes of that emperor, which are the laſt remains we have of the Roman tongue freed from the harſhneſs of the German.

Plar

Plas me el cavalier Frances
E la donna Catalana
E L' ovrar Genoes
E la danza Trevisana
E lou cantar Provenzales
Las man e cara d' Angles
E lou donzel de Toscana.

I am pleas'd with the French cavalier,
And the Catalonian dame,
And the workmanship of Genoa,
And the dancing of Trevisa,
And the poetry of Provence,
The hands and face of an Englishman,
And the damsels of Tuscany.

These remains are more precious than may perhaps be imagined; and infinitely surpass all the rubbish of the middle age, which is so greedily sought after by those of an ignorant and tasteless curiosity, as they prove beyond contradiction, that nature has ever been the same in all the nations of which Frederick speaks. The women of Catalonia are now, as in his time, the handsomest in Spain. The French gentry have the same martial air for which they were then famous. The English are still commonly known for the nobleness and regularity of their features, and the whiteness of their hands. The young women of Tuscany are still more agreeable than in any other country. The Genoese have preserved their industry: and the inhabitants of Provence, their taste for poetry and music. It was in Provence and Languedoc that the Roman language

firſt received its poliſh. The Provençals were maſters to the Italians; and nothing is better known to the virtuoſi in theſe reſearches, than the following verſes, made on the people called Vaudois, in the year 1100.

Que non volia maudir, ne jura, ne mentir,
N' occir, ne avoutrar, ne prenre de altrui,
Ne s' avengear deli ſuo eñemi,
Loz diſon qu' es Vaudes, & los feſon morir.

When a man will neither curſe, nor ſwear, nor lie,
Nor ſlay, nor rob, nor mount his neighbour's bed,
Nor take fell vengeance of his enemy,
They hold him a Vaudois, and take his life.

This quotation has likewiſe its uſe, inaſmuch as it is a proof that the reformers of all times have affected a ſeverity of manners.

This jargon unhappily continued to be uſed, ſuch as it was ſpoken in Provence and Languedoc, till the Italian language, under the pen of Petrarch, received that force and elegance, which, far from degenerating, ſtill acquired greater perfection. The Italian took its firſt form towards the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of good king Roger, father to the unfortunate Joan of Naples. Dante, the Florentine poet, had already adorned the Tuſcan tongue by his poem called Comedy; which, though a whimſical performance, is full of many ſtriking and natural beauties. In this work the author raiſed himſelf above the bad taſte of his times, and his ſubject; and we may every where

where find in it, paſſages written in all the purity and elegance of the later times of Arioſto and Taſſo ‖. We cannot wonder that the author,

‖ Petrarch, Dante, Arioſto, Taſſo.

Theſe are the four moſt celebrated writers that modern Italy hath produced. *Franciſco Petrarcha* was born at Arezzo in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He acquired ſuch reputation by his poetry, that while he led a retired life in the valley of Vaucluſe in the neighbourhood of Avignon, he, on the very ſame day, received letters of invitation from the chancellor of the univerſity of Paris, and the ſenate of Rome, deſiring he would come and receive the crown of poetry at each of theſe great theatres of learning. He preferred the requeſt of the Romans; and, going to Rome, was crowned in the capitol. It was the ſingular good fortune of this writer, to be eſteemed and courted by all the princes of his time.

Dante Aligheri was born at Florence, and flouriſhed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He compoſed a variety of poems, and was greatly admired for the ſome of his genius, and the purity of his ſtile.

Ludovico Arioſto, born at Reggio, immortalised himſelf by his poem intituled *Orlando Furioſo*. He likewiſe wrote ſome ſatires and comedies that have a conſiderable ſhare of merit: but his maſter-piece, Orlando, is preferred all over Italy to every other poem which that language has produced, being recited, and even ſung by all ranks of people: Arioſto died in the year 1533.

Torquato Taſſo, deſcended of the illuſtrious family of the *Torregiani* lords of Bergamo, and ſeveral other places, was born at that town in the year 1544. His genius and capacity began to ſhew themſelves even in his tender infancy. He was certainly an excellent ſcholar, a theologiſt, philoſopher, rhetorician, critick, and in all ſorts of poetry, infinitely ſuperior to all his cotemporaries. He was alſo endued with every virtue of the heart; modeſt, courteous, brave, and generous. His epic poem intituled *Gieruſalemme liberata*, is univerſally admired, and, by ſome criticks, even preferred to Virgil's *Æneis*. Balzac ſays, that, if Virgil had never appeared, Taſſo would have been the firſt poet;

thor, who was one of the chiefs of the Gibelline faction, and was ſeverely perſecuted by pope Boniface VIII. and Charles of Valois, has in ſeveral parts of his poem, given vent to the concern he felt for the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate. Permit me in this place to inſert a weak tranſlation of one of the paſſages in Dante, relating to theſe diſſentions: Theſe monuments of the human mind ſerve to amuſe us after a long and painful attention to the miſeries which have diſtracted the earth.

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and that, if Taſſo had not appeared, Virgil would been the only poet. Boileau, who was rather a better critick, had not ſuch a great opinion of Taſſo, if he ſpoke his real ſentiments in this line:

Et le clinquant du Taſſe à tout l'or de Virgile.

If the former was too high a compliment, this, we apprehend, is too ſevere a cenſure. Certain it is, that, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, all the wits of Italy were divided about the poetical merits of Arioſto and Taſſo, and the academy della Cruſca decided in favour of the former. It is very remarkable that, although Taſſo was careſſed by the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal d'Eſte, Charles IX. of France, and many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction; though his works were held in univerſal admiration; and he was invited to receive the laurel at Rome; he laboured under extreme poverty; inſomuch that he wrote a beautiful ſonnet, addreſſed to his cat, deſiring that ſhe would lend him her eyes, that he might ſee in the dark: *non havendo candele la notte per eſcrivere i ſuoi verſi*, not having a candle by the light of which he could write his verſes in the night. Beſides the *Jeruſalem*, he wrote the poem of *Rinaldo*, ſome tragedies, and an infinity of other works, and died at Rome in the fifty-firſt year of his age.

Taſſo

Jadis on vit dans une paix profonde
De deux Soleils les flambeaux luire au monde,
Qui ſans ſe nuire éclairant les humaines,
Du vrai devoir enſeignaient les chemins,
Et nous montraient de l'Aigle Impériale
Et de l'agneau les droits & l'intervale.
Ce tems n'eſt plus, & nos Cieux ont changé.
L'un des Soleils de vapeurs ſurchargé,
En s'échappant de ſa ſainte carriére,
Voulut de l'autre abſorber la lumiére.
La régle alors devint confuſion;
Et l'humble agneau parut un fier lion,
Qui tout brillant de la pourpre uſurpée
Voulut porter la houlette & l'épée.

Of old, two ſuns were ſeen to blaze
In peace profound with genial rays;
On man's bewilder'd race to ſhine,
And point the paths to truth divine;
Th' imperial eagle's rights to ſhew,
And bring the lamb's juſt claims to view.
Thoſe ſkies ſerene are now no more:
One ſun ſurcharg'd with vapours hoar,
Launch'd from his ſphere eccentric gleams,
And ſtrives to drink the other's beams.
Wild anarchy her empire rears;
A lion fierce the lamb appears,
In robes uſurp'd a tyrant lord
To wield the croſier and the ſword.

To Dante ſucceeded Petrach, born in the year 1304, in Arezzo, the country of the famous Guido Aretin; this poet rendered the Italian tongue more pure, and gave it all the ſweetneſs of which it was ſuſcep-

tible. In theſe two poets, and eſpecially in the latter, we meet with a great number of ſtrokes which reſemble the beautiful works of the ancients, and have at once all the vigour of antiquity and the freſhneſs of novelty. It may appear raſh in me to pretend to imitate this excellent poet, but you will forgive my preſumption, for the deſire I have to make you acquainted as much as poſſible with the nature of his ſtile. Here follows nearly the beginning of his beautiful ode to the Fountain of Vaucluſe, which is indeed irregular, and compoſed by him in blank verſe, to avoid the conſtraint of rhime, but which nevertheleſs is more eſteemed than thoſe of his pieces which are in rhime.

Claire fontaine, onde aimable, onde pure,
Où la beauté qui conſume mon cœur ;
Seule beauté qui ſoit dans la nature,
Des feux du jour évitait la chaleur ;
Arbre heureux dont le feuillage
Agité par les zéphirs
La couvrit de ſon ombrage,
Qui rapelles mes ſoupirs,
En rapellant ſon image,
Ornemens de ces bords & filles du matin,
Vous dont je ſuis jaloux, vous moins brillantes qu'elle,
Fleurs qu'elle embelliſſait quand vous touchiez ſon ſein,
Roſſignols dont la voix eſt moins douce & moins belle,
Air devenu plus pur, adorable ſéjour
Immortaliſé par ſes charmes,
Lieux dangereux & chers, où de ſes tendres armes
L'amour a bleſſé tous mes ſens ;
Ecoutez mes derniers accens,
Recevez mes derniéres larmes.

Pure

Pure fountain, by whoſe purling ſtream,
That beauty, miſtreſs of my heart,
Whom nature form'd above the reach of art,
Avoids at noon the ſultry beam;
O happy tree, whoſe foliage made,
When fann'd by Zephyr's wing,
For her a cool, refreſhing ſhade,
Ye ſcenes that her ador'd idea bring,
And wake the ſigh that ſtruggles while I ſing;
Ye gorgeous daughters of the dewy morn,
Who, though leſs fair than ſhe, theſe meads adorn,
Sweet flowrets, oft beheld with jealous eye,
While borrowing fragrance on her breaſt you lie;
Ye nightingales whoſe warbled ſtrain
Would emulate her ſong in vain;
Ye breezes that more ſalutary play,
As o'er her charms with feather'd foot you ſtray;
O bleſt retreat, that ages ſhall revere!
O plain ſo dreaded, yet ſo dear!
Where love, with his all-piercing dart,
Firſt triumph'd o'er my captive heart;
Receive theſe tears, theſe notes by ſorrow ſung,
While death's cold accents tremble on my tongue.

Theſe little poems, which are ſtiled Canzoni, are eſteemed his maſter-pieces, his other works having procured him much leſs honour: here he has immortalized the Fountain of Vaucluſe, his miſtreſs Laura, and himſelf. Had he never loved, he would never have been ſo well known. However imperfect the above imitation may be, it

it ſerves to ſhew the immenſe ſuperiority the Italians had over other nations, and I thought it much better to give you this ſlight idea of Petrarch's genius, and of that ſweetneſs and melting elegance which ſo much diſtinguiſh his writings, than to trouble you with a repetition of what ſo many writers have already related of the honours offered him at Paris, of thoſe conferred on him at Rome, and of his triumph in the capitol in 1341, where he received that famous homage which the admiration of his cotemporaries paid to a genius then unparalelled, but which was afterwards ſurpaſſed by that of Arioſto and Taſſo. I ſhall not however paſs over unobſerved that his family were baniſhed from Tuſcany, and their eſtates confiſcated, during the diſſentions between the Guelphs and Gibellines; and that the people of Florence deputed Boccace to requeſt him in their name, to come and honour his native country with his preſence, and enjoy the reſtitution of his patrimony. Greece, in her brighteſt ages, never gave nobler proofs of a taſte and eſteem for great talents.

This Boccace fixed the Tuſcan language, and is ſtill the beſt model for exactneſs and purity of ſtile, in proſe, as well as for the natural and the narrative. The Italian tongue, thus rendered perfect by theſe two writers, underwent no farther alteration, whilſt all the other people of Europe, even the Greeks themſelves, have changed their idiom.

After this there followed an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of Italian poets, whoſe works have been all tranſmitted to poſterity. Pulci wrote

after

after Petrarch; Bayardo *, count of Scandiano, ſucceeded Pulci; and Arioſto ſurpaſſed them all by the fruitfulneſs of his imagination. Let us not forget that Petrarch and Boccace celebrated the unfortunate Joan of Naples, whoſe cultivated mind was ſenſible of their merit, and who was herſelf one of their ſcholars. She was at that time entirely devoted to the polite arts, and forgot in their boſom the crimes which had embittered the moments of her firſt marriage; and the change which was wrought in her manners by the cultivation of her mind, ought to have ſaved her from the tragical end which afterwards befel her.

The polite arts, which are as it were linked hand in hand, and generally ſink and riſe again together, firſt began in Italy to emerge from barbariſm. Cimmabue †, without any aſſiſtance, became anew the inventor of painting in the thirteenth century. Giotto ‡ drew pictures which

* He wrote the poem called Orlando, upon which the plan of Arioſto's Orlando Furioſo was founded; it was modernized by Berni.

† Cimmabue was a Florentine, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, ſo much eſteemed for his painting, that Charles I. of Naples viſited him at his houſe in the ſuburbs, which, from the great concourſe of noblemen and others that attended him on this occaſion, acquired the name of *Il Borgo Allegro*.

‡ He was originally a ſhepherd-boy, whom Cimmabué found by accident in the fields, making deſigns with charcoal on a brick. He became one of that painter's pupils, and in the ſequel acquired great reputation; was patronized by pope Benedict XI. maintained an intimacy with Dante, and has been celebrated by Petrarch. When the pope deſired

which are yet beheld with pleaſure. There is one piece in particular remaining of this famous painter, and which has ſince been copied in Moſaic work, and repreſents the favourite apoſtle walking upon the waters: it is to be ſeen over the great door in St. Peter's at Rome. Brunelleſchi began to reform the Gothic architecture, and Guido of Arezzo * had long before, namely, about the end of the eleventh century, invented notes for muſic, by which he rendered that art more eaſy and generally known.

We are indebted for all theſe beautiful and new inventions to the Italians alone. They called them all into life again by the ſole ſtrength of their genius, before the little ſcience which was left in Conſtantinople had ebbed back into Italy with the Greek language, after the Ottoman conqueſts. Florence was at that time a new Athens, and, among the orators who were ſent from the Italian cities to compliment pope Boniface VIII. on his exaltation to the papal chair, there were no leſs

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fired to ſee ſome deſigns of the Florentine painters, Giotto ſent him a circle traced with his pencil, ſo beautiful and perfect, that it gave riſe to the Italian proverb, *Tu ſi più tondo che l' O di Giotto*; literally, Thou art rounder than Grotto's circle. But, as *tondo* likewiſe ſignifies *fooliſh*, this adage is uſed as a compariſon of reproach. The piece mentioned by our author is called *La nave del Giotto*.

* Otherwiſe Guido Aretinus, was a Benedictine monk, who invented the ſix notes of muſic, *ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la*, being the initial letters of theſe words in the hymn of St. John:

Ut queunt laxis,	*Famuli* tuorum,
Reſonare fibris,	*Solve* polluti,
Mira geſtorum,	*Labii* reatum.

He wrote two treatiſes on muſic, and lived in the eleventh century.

than

than eight natives of Florence. By this we may perceive, that we do not owe the revival of the polite arts to thoſe who fled into Italy from Conſtantinople, ſince theſe fugitives could at moſt but teach the Italians the Greek language.

It may appear aſtoniſhing that ſo many great geniuſes ſhould have ariſen in Italy in the midſt of diſſentions and civil wars, and equally deſtitute of protection and of models. But let it be remembered, that, among the Romans, Lucretius wrote his beautiful poem upon natural hiſtory, Virgil his Bucolics, and Cicero his books of philoſophy, in the midſt of all the horrors of civil wars. When once a language begins to take a form, it becomes an inſtrument which great artiſts find ready prepared to their hands, and which they employ without concerning themſelves about who governs or diſturbs the world.

But although this light ſeems to have ſhone only in Italy, yet there were not wanting ſome perſons of talents in other countries. St. Bernard and Abelard, who lived in France in the twelfth century, may be conſidered as men of great genius, but their language was a barbarous jargon, and their Latin was a tribute which they paid to the bad taſte of the times. The Latin hymns in rhime, which were compoſed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are the very quinteſſence of barbariſm. It was not thus that Horace ſung the ſecular games. The ſcholaſtic divinity of thoſe times, which was the baſtard offspring of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, badly tranſlated, and as ill underſtood, did more injury to underſtanding and the polite ſtudies,

ſtudies, than ever the Huns and Vandals had done.

The polite arts were kept alive in the Eaſt, and ſince the poems of the Perſian writer Sady, are ſtill in the mouths of Perſians, Turks, and Arabians, they muſt certainly have had ſome merit. This writer was cotemporary with Petrarch, and equal to him in reputation. It is certain, that, in general, good taſte was far from being prevalent among the Orientals. Their works reſemble the titles of their monarchs, full of high ſounding epithets. The ſpirit of ſlavery and ſubjection appears to be naturally daſtardly, as that of liberty is nervous, and true greatneſs ſimple. The Orientals have no delicacy, becauſe their women are excluded from ſociety. They have no order or method, becauſe every one gives a looſe to his imagination in that ſolitude in which they paſs the greater part of their lives, and the imagination of itſelf is always unruly. They have likewiſe been always ſtrangers to true eloqence, ſuch as that of Cicero and Demoſthenes. For whom had an eaſtern orator to perſuade? a ſet of ſlaves. And yet they have ſeveral bright gleams of ſcientific light: they paint in ſpeech; and although their figures are frequently gigantic and incoherent, they ſtill partake ſomewhat of the ſublime. You may perhaps not be diſpleaſed to ſee again in this place a paſſage from Sady, which I formerly tranſlated into blank verſe, and which bears a ſtrong reſemblance to ſome paſſages in the Hebrew poets. It is a deſcription of the power of God, a common-place ſubject without doubt, but which may ſerve to give you an idea of the Perſian genius.

Il ſait diſtinctement ce qui ne fut jamais.
De ce qu'on n'entend point ſon oreille eſt remplie.
Prince, il n'a pas beſoin qu'on le ſerve à genoux.
Juge, il n'a pas beſoin que ſa Loi ſoit écrite.
De l'Eternel burin de ſa préviſion
Il a tracé nos traits dans le ſein de nos méres.
De l'aurore au couchant il porte le Soleil,
Il ſéme de rubis les maſſes des montagnes.
Il prend deux goutes d'eau; de l'une il fait un homme,
De l'autre il arrondit la perle au fond des mers.
L'être au ſon de ſa voix fut tiré du néant.
Qu'il parle, & dans l'inſtant l'Univers va rentrer
Dans les immenſités de l'eſpace & du vuide;
Qu'il parle, & l'Univers repaſſe en un clind'œil
Des abîmes du rien dans les plaines de l'être.

He knows diſtinctly what is yet to come.
His ear is fill'd with ſounds as yet unform'd.
Sov'reign of all, he aſks no bended knee.
Immortal judge, he needs no written law.
By the eternal fullneſs of his foreſight,
As with a ready pencil, he has trac'd
The infant-features in the mother's womb.
By him conducted through his bright career,
Safely the ſun journeys from eaſt to weſt.
He ſows the flinty boſoms of the hills
With the rich ruby, and the ſapphire blue.
Two drops of water, in his plaſtic hand,
Take different forms, as ſuit his high beheſt;
This breathes a man; that, ſinking to the deep,
Rounds in its oozy bed an orient pearl.
Creation at his bidding roſe to light,
And ſhall, if he commands, again retire

Back to th' immenſe vacuity of ſpace;
Or if he ſpeaks, lo! quicker than the word,
Th' obedient univerſe once more ſtarts forth,
From deepeſt chaos, to the realms of being.

If the belles lettres were thus cultivated on the banks of the Tygris and Euphrates, it is a certain proof that the other arts which miniſter to our pleaſures were likewiſe very well known. The ſuperfluities of life follow only after the knowledge of the neceſſaries: but this was ſtill wanting almoſt throughout Europe. What did they know in Germany, France, England, Spain, and the northern parts of Lombardy? Nothing but barbarous and feudal cuſtoms, equally tumultuous and uncertain, duels, tournaments, ſcholaſtic divinity, and magic.

They ſtill celebrated in ſeveral churches the feſtival of the aſs, and that of the innocents and fools. An aſs was brought before the altar, and the people ſung the following anthem to him: "Amen, Amen, Aſne; eh, eh, eh, Mr. Aſs! eh, eh, eh, Mr. Aſs." A company of fools marched at the head of every proceſſion, in plaited gowns, hung round with bells and baubles; and this faſhion is ſtill kept up in ſome towns of the Low Countries, and in Germany. As to our northern nations, all their literature conſiſted in certain farces, written and exhibited in the vulgar tongue, with the titles of the Fooliſh Mother, the Prince of Fools, &c.

Nothing was to be heard, but ſtories of revelation, people poſſeſſed by evil ſpirits and faſcinations: and to ſuch lengths did the prejudices of thoſe times carry men, that Philip III.'s

queen

queen being accuſed of adultery, the king her huſband ſent to conſult a beguine *, to know whether his wife was guilty or innocent. The children of Philip the Fair entered into an aſſociation in writing, by which they engaged mutually to defend each other againſt any one who ſhould attempt to deſtroy them by magic. There was a decree of parliament, condemning a woman to be burnt for a witch who was accuſed of having entered into compact with the devil, in favour of Robert of Artois. The diſorder of Charles VI. was attributed to magic, and a ſuppoſed conjurer was ſent for to cure him. The princeſs of Gloceſter in England was condemned to do pennance in the porch of St. Paul's church; and a baroneſs † of the ſame kingdom, her ſuppoſed accomplice, was burnt alive for a witch.

If the moſt conſiderable perſonages of the kingdoms of Europe fell victims to theſe cruelties, which were the offspring of credulity, we may eaſily ſuppoſe what private perſons were ſubject to. But theſe were ſlight evils.

In Germany, France, Spain, and even in Italy, except in the large, trading cities, they were entirely deſtitute of any form of civil government: the walled towns in Germany and France were all ſacked during the civil wars: the Greek empire was over-run by the Turks:

Spain

* Beguines, a ſort of nuns.

† This baroneſs was no other than Margery Gurdemain, called by Speed, in his chronicle, a witch of Ey in Suffolk, who was burned in Smithfield. This affair, however, ought not to be imputed to the ſuperſtition of the age; but to the malice of the duke of Gloceſter's enemies.

Spain was ſtill divided between the Chriſtians and the Mahometan Moors, and each ſide was frequently torn in pieces by its own inteſtine commotions. At length, in the reign of Philip of Valois, Edward III. Lewis of Bavaria, and pope Clement VI. a general plague ſwept away thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword and the miſeries of their country.

Immediately preceding theſe times of the fourteenth century, our Europe was, as we have already ſeen, depopulated and impoveriſhed by the cruſades. If we go back from theſe cruſades, to the times which followed after the death of Charlemagne, we ſhall find them not leſs unhappy, and ſtill more ignorant. The compariſon of thoſe ages with our own ſhould fill us with a due ſenſe of the happineſs we now enjoy, notwithſtanding the almoſt invincible propenſity we have to admire and praiſe the paſt at the expence of the preſent.

But we muſt not believe that all was alike ſavage. There were ſeveral great examples of virtue in all ſtations, on the throne and in the cloiſter, among the ſwordſmen and with the prieſts. But neither a St. Lewis nor a St. Ferdinand could heal the wounds of human-kind. The long diſpute between the emperors and the popes, the obſtinate ſtand made by the Roman liberty againſt the power of the German Cæſars and that of the Roman pontiffs, the frequent ſchiſms, and at length the great ſchiſm of the Weſt, would not permit thoſe popes, elected in the midſt of tumults, to exerciſe thoſe virtues which more happy and peaceable times might have probably inſpired them with; and indeed might it not be poſſible for the general depravity

pravity of manners to extend its influence even to them? Every man is formed by the age he lives in, and few are there who can riſe above the manners of the times. The wicked actions which many of the popes were drawn to commit, and the ſcandalous lives they led upon the authority of general example, are things which can never be buried in oblivion. But of what ſervice is it to ſet forth their vices and their diſaſters? To ſhew how happy Rome has been, ſince decency and tranquility have reigned within her walls; and what more deſirable fruit can we reap from all the viciſſitudes we meet with in this general hiſtory than the conviction that every nation has always been unhappy till the laws and the legiſlative power were eſtabliſhed by univerſal conſent.

In like manner as ſome few monarchs and pontiffs, worthy of better times, could not ſtop the general torrent of diſorder; ſo neither could a few fine geniuſes born in the darkneſs of the northern nations, allure to thoſe climates the arts and ſciences.

Charles V. king of France, who made a collection of above nine hundred volumes, at leaſt a century before the Vatican library was founded by Nicholas V. in vain endeavoured to encourage learning in his kingdom. The ſoil was not yet prepared for bearing thoſe exotic fruits. There has been a collection of ſome of the wretched productions of thoſe times: this is like collecting a heap of flints from the rubbiſh of an old houſe, when we are ſurrounded by beautiful palaces. Charles was obliged to ſend to Piſa for an aſtrologer; and Catherine the daughter of this aſtrologer, who wrote in French,

French, pretends that Charles expreſſed himſelf thus: "While learning is honoured in this kingdom it will continue to flouriſh." But learning was unknown, and taſte yet more ſo; the French having only the advantage of a more ſhewy outſide than other nations.

When Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, went into Italy, the inhabitants of Lombardy, and even thoſe of Tuſcany, took the faſhions of the French. Theſe were rather extravagancies than faſhion. The coat was laced behind in the ſame manner as the women's ſtays now are, with large hanging-down ſleeves, and a riding cloak that trailed upon the ground. The French gentlemen, however, gave a certain grace to this odd kind of maſquerade, and juſtified what Frederic II. had ſaid, *Plaz me el cavalier Francez* *. It would however have been much better for France had they underſtood more of military diſcipline; the kingdom would not then have fallen a prey to a foreign power, as it did under the reign of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. But how happened it that the Engliſh were ſo much better verſed in martial diſcipline than their neighbours? probably becauſe, that being frequently obliged to fight at a diſtance from their own country, they found they ſtood in greater need of ſuch knowledge; or rather becauſe they have a more cool and deliberate courage.

* See page 31.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXX.

Infranchiſements, privileges of towns, general eſtates.

FROM the general anarchy of Europe, and the numberleſs diſaſters in which it was involved, aroſe the ineſtimable bleſſing of liberty, which has gradually made the imperial and other cities rich and flouriſhing.

You may already have obſerved, that in the beginning of the feudal anarchy the cities were almoſt all peopled with bondmen rather than citizens, as is ſtill the caſe in Poland, where there are not above three or four cities which have the liberty of holding lands; and the inhabitants all belong to their lord, who has power of life and death over them. It was the ſame in France and Germany. The emperors began by granting infranchiſements to ſeveral cities; and as early as the thirteenth century the cities joined together for their common defence againſt the lords of caſtles who lived upon plunder.

Lewis the Fat, of France, followed this example in the places within his domains, in order to weaken the lords who were up in arms againſt him. The lords themſelves ſold freedoms to the ſmall towns which were in their demeſnes, for money to ſupport the honour of chivalry in the holy land.

At length in 1167, pope Alexander III. declared in the name of a council, "That all chriſtians ought to be exempt from ſervitude" This law is alone ſufficient to render his me-

mory dear to the people of all nations; as his endeavours to maintain the liberty of Italy ought to make his name precious to the Italians.

It was in virtue of this law that a long time afterwards king Lewis Hutin declared in his charters, that all the bondmen then remaining in France ſhould be free; "Becauſe, ſays he, it is the kingdom of the Franks." He made them indeed pay for this freedom; but could ſuch a bleſſing be bought too dear?

Nevertheleſs, mankind were reinſtated but by degrees, and with great difficulty, in their natural rights. Lewis Hutin could not oblige the lords his vaſſals to do that for the ſubjects of their demeſnes which he had done for his. The huſbandmen, and even the burghers remained for a long time a powerful body of men, wholly attached to tillage, as they ſtill are in many provinces in Germany: and it was not till the reign of Charles VII. that ſervitude was entirely aboliſhed in France, by the weakning of the power of the lords. The Engliſh contributed greatly to this happy change, by bringing over with them that ſpirit of freedom which is their diſtinguiſhing character *.

Even before the time of Lewis Hutin, the kings of France had ennobled ſome citizens. Philip the Bold, ſon to St. Lewis, ennobled Raoul, commonly called Raoul the Goldſmith; not from his being an artificer, for then his nobility would have been ridiculous, but as being the keeper of the king's money; for caſh-keepers were generally called goldſmiths, as they ſtill

* In that reign the people of England themſelves were little better than ſlaves: the barons only were free.

are in London, where they have retained many of the antient cuſtoms of France.

The corporations of towns were firſt admitted in France into the general aſſembly of the eſtates by Philip the Fair, in 1301: theſe aſſemblies then held the place of the antient parliaments of the nation, formerly compoſed of lords and prelates. The third eſtate gave their advice in the form of a petition, which was preſented upon the knee; and the cuſtom is ſtill kept up for the third eſtate to addreſs the king on one knee in the ſame manner as the lawyers do at a bed of juſtice. The firſt general aſſembly of the eſtates was held to oppoſe the pretenſions of pope Boniface VIII. It muſt be acknowledged that it was a melancholy circumſtance for human nature, that there were but two orders in the ſtate, the one compoſed of the lords of fiefs, who did not make the five thouſandth part of the nation; and the other of the clergy, who were ſtill an inferior number, and who from the nature of their holy inſtitution were deſtined to a ſuperior function, entirely foreign to temporal matters. The body of the nation had been all along reckoned for nothing. This was one of the true cauſes of the languid ſtate of the kingdom of France, by ſuppreſſing of all induſtry. Had the body of the ſtate in England and Holland been compoſed only of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical barons, thoſe people would never during the war in 1701 have held the balance of Europe in their own hands.

Philip the Fair, who has been reproached for his male practices with reſpect to the coin, his perſecution of the knights templars, and

perhaps a too bitter animoſity to pope Boniface VIII. and his memory, did great ſervice to the nation, in calling the third eſtate to the general aſſemblies of France.

The houſe of commons in England began to be formed about this time, and grew into great credit in 1300. Thus the chaos of government began to be cleared up almoſt every where, by the very misfortunes which the feudal government had every where occaſioned. But although the people thus reſumed their liberties, and the enjoyment of ſo many privileges, it was a conſiderable time before they were able to emerge from the barbariſm and brutality to which they had been reduced, and which is the conſequence of a long ſtate of ſlavery. They were now indeed free, and were looked upon as men; but ſtill they became neither more civilized nor more induſtrious. The bloody wars of Edward III. and Henry V. plunged the people of France into a ſtate worſe than ſlavery; and they did not begin to recover themſelves again till the reign of Charles VII. The Engliſh people were not much happier after the death of Henry V. Thoſe in Germany were in a better ſituation during the reigns of the emperors Winceſlaus and Sigiſmund, becauſe the imperial cities had then acquired a degree of credit and power.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

Of TAXES and COINS.

THE third eſtate was of no other uſe in the general aſſembly of the eſtates held by Philip of Valois, in 1345, than to give its conſent to the firſt impoſition of aids and gabelles: but it is certain that if the eſtates had been aſſembled more frequently in France, they would have acquired more authority; for under the adminiſtration of this ſame Philip of Valois, which became odious, by the bad ſtate of the coin, and greatly diſcredited by its misfortunes, the eſtates in 1355 of themſelves appointed commiſſioners from the three orders to collect the monies they had granted the king. Thoſe who give what they pleaſe, and as they pleaſe, are certainly ſharers in the ſovereign authority. It was for this reaſon that the kings convoked theſe aſſemblies as ſeldom as poſſible, and only when they could not diſpenſe with it. Thus from the nation being ſo little accuſtomed to examine into its wants, its reſources, and its ſtrength, the general eſtates were wanting in that ſpirit of connection, and the knowledge of buſineſs which ſettled and regular bodies have. Being called together only at long intervals, they were obliged to enquire of each other concerning the laws and cuſtoms, inſtead of proceeding to ſettle them; and were in a continual ſtate of ſurprize and uncertainty. The parliaments of England have taken greater prerogatives to themſelves, and have eſtabliſhed and maintained themſelves in the right of being

ing the natural repreſentatives of the nation. This alone may ſhew us the difference between the two people: both ſet out upon the ſame principles, and yet the form of their government is now entirely different. At that time it was exactly the ſame. The eſtates of Arragon, thoſe of Hungary, and the German diets have likewiſe very great privileges.

The general ſtates of France, or rather of that part of France which fought for the lawful ſovereign Charles VII. againſt the uſurper Henry V. generouſly granted their royal maſter a general tax in 1426, in the very height of the war, and in a time of great ſcarcity, when they were apprehenſive that the lands muſt have lain uncultivated for want of men. This tax has ſince become perpetual. The kings before them were wont to live upon their own demeſnes: but Charles VII. had loſt almoſt all his; and had it not been for the brave warriors who ſacrificed themſelves for him and for their country, and for his conſtable the count de Richemont, by whom he was wholly directed, he muſt have been loſt himſelf.

Soon afterwards the huſbandmen who had hitherto paid taxes to their lords whoſe bondmen they were, now paid this tribute only to the king, whoſe ſubjects they were; not but that the kings of France had even before the time of St. Lewis raiſed taxes in the lands belonging to the royal patrimony. We know of the tax of bread and wine paid at firſt in kind, and afterwards in money. The French term *taille*, (or tax,) came from the cuſtom the collectors had of marking upon a ſmall wooden tally the ſums paid by the perſons aſſeſſed; for very

very few of the common people knew how to write. The very cuſtoms of the towns were not in writing; and this ſame Charles VII. was the firſt who ordered them to be enrolled in 1454, when he had reſtored peace and a police to his kingdom, of which it had been ſo long deprived, and when ſo long a ſeries of misfortunes had given riſe to a new form of government.

Here then I conſider in general the fate of the people rather than the revolutions of kingdoms. Mankind ſhould be the chief object of our attention in hiſtory; and here it is that every writer ought to ſay *homo ſum*: but moſt of our hiſtorians have buſied themſelves rather in deſcriptions of battles.

There was yet another thing which diſturbed the public order and tranquility of Europe, and injured the fortunes of private families; this was the adulteration of the coin. Every lord coined money, and changed at pleaſure the nominal value and weight; thus doing himſelf a laſting prejudice for the ſake of a temporary advantage. The neceſſity of the times had obliged the kings to ſet this fatal example. I have already remarked that the gold ſpecie of one part of Europe, and eſpecially of France, had been ſwallowed up in Aſia and Africa in the unfortunate projects of the cruſades. It was neceſſary therefore in a time of need to increaſe the numerical value of the money. In the time of Charles V. after he had reduced his kingdom to obedience, the livre was worth ſeven numerical livres; under Charlemagne it was of the real weight of one pound. The livre of Charles V. then was in fact but the ſeventh part of the old

livre; therefore the income of a family which conſiſted in rent-charge, an infeoffment, or dues payable in ſilver, was by this means reduced to the ſeventh part of its original value.

We may judge from a ſtill more ſtriking example of the ſmall quantity of money that was circulating in ſuch a kingdom as France. This ſame Charles V. declared the children of France entitled to an appanage of twelve thouſand livres *per ann.* theſe twelve thouſand livres are worth at preſent no more than twenty-four thouſand livres. How poor a proviſion for a king's ſon! the ſcarcity of ſpecie was equally great in Germany, Spain, and England.

King Edward III. was the firſt who ſtruck gold coin. Let it be conſidered that the Romans had no gold coin till ſix hundred and fifty years after the founding of their republic.

The whole revenues of Henry V. did not amount to more that fifty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling, which is about twelve hundred thouſand livres, of the preſent French currency; yet with this trifling reſource did he attempt the conqueſt of France. Nay, after the battle of Agincourt he was obliged to return to England, to borrow money of the city of London, and to put every thing in pledge to raiſe ſupplies for carrying on the war. And in fact his conqueſts were made rather with the ſword than with money.

In Sweden there was in thoſe times no other money than what was made of iron or copper. There was but a very ſmall quantity of ſilver in Denmark, and that was brought into the country by the trade carried on with Lubec.

In

In this general ſcarcity of money, which was ſeverely felt in France after the cruſades, king Philip the Fair not only raiſed the fictitious and ideal price of ſpecie; but he alſo cauſed a quantity of bad money to be coined, in which was mixed an over-proportion of alloy. In a word, it was a kind of counterfeit coin; and theſe proceedings raiſed ſeditions among the people, which rendered the nation very unhappy. Philip of Valois went ſtill farther than Philip the Fair; for he made the officers of his mint ſwear upon the goſpels to keep the ſecret, and enjoined them by an ordinance to impoſe upon the merchants, "And in ſuch manner that they may not diſcover that there is any alteration in the weight." Theſe are his own words. But how could he flatter himſelf that this piece of injuſtice would remain concealed? and what times were thoſe in which they were forced to have recourſe to ſuch artifices! times in which almoſt all the lords of fiefs ſince the reign of St. Lewis had followed the ſame practices, for which Philip the Fair and Philip of Valois were ſo much blamed. The French lords ſold the king their right of coinage; but thoſe in Germany have ſtill preſerved theirs: this has ſometimes given riſe to great abuſes, but not ſo univerſal nor ſo fatal as thoſe in France.

CHAP. LXXII.

Of the PARLIAMENT till the Reign of CHARLES VII.

PHILIP the Fair, who was the cauſe of ſo many evils, by adulterating the good coin of St. Lewis, did the ſtate great ſervice in calling to the general aſſembly of the nation the citizens, who are in fact the body of the nation; nor did he procure it a leſs advantage by inſtituting a ſovereign court of judicature, to be held at Paris under the name of parliament.

What has been hitherto wrote concerning the origin and nature of the parliament of Paris, affords but very confuſed ideas of the matter; becauſe the change of old cuſtoms into new is very apt to eſcape the attention. One writer will have it, that the courts of inqueſts and requeſts exactly repreſent the courts held by the antient conquerors of Gaul. Another pretends, that the parliament derives its right of judicature wholly from the ancient peers who were the judges of the nation; and that the parliament is called the court of peers.

Thus much is certain, that there happened a very great change in the French government, under Philip the Fair, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. 1ſt. The great feudal and ariſtocratic form of government was gradually undermined in the royal demeſnes. 2d. Philip the Fair, almoſt at the ſame time erected what we call the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, and Normandy, and the extraordinary courts of Troye as courts of juſtice. 3d. The parliament of Paris became

became the moſt conſiderable on account of its large extent of diſtrict. 4th. Philip the Fair fixed its ſeat at Paris. And 5thly, it was made a perpetual court by Philip the Long, and became the truſtee and interpreter of the old and new laws, the guardian of the rights of the crown, and the great oracle of the nation.

The king's privy council, the general eſtates, and the parliament, were three very different things. The general eſtates were really and truly the antient parliament of the whole nation; to which were added the deputies of the commons.

The king's privy council was compoſed of ſuch great officers of the ſtate as he pleaſed to admit, and particularly of the peers of the kingdom, who were all princes of the blood. And the court of juſtice, known by the name of parliament, now fixed at Paris, was at firſt compoſed of biſhops and knights, aſſiſted by others of the profeſſed and lay clergy, who had a knowledge of civil matters.

The peers had doubtleſs a right to ſit in that court, as being the original judges of the nation: but even ſuppoſing them not to have this right, it would be no leſs a high court of judicature: in the ſame manner as the imperial chamber in Germany is an high court, although neither the electors nor the other princes of the empire ever aſſiſted at it; and as the council of Caſtile is ſtill a ſupreme court, although the grandees of Spain have not the privilege of a ſeat therein.

This parliament is not the ſame with the antient aſſemblies held in the fields in the months of March and May, although it ſtill retains the

ſame name. The peers had indeed a right to aſſiſt at thoſe aſſemblies; but theſe peers were not, as in England, the only nobles of the kingdom. They were princes who held their honours from the crown; and when any new peers were to be made, they could only be taken from amongſt theſe princes. Champagne having ceaſed to be a peerage, when Philip the Fair got it in dowry with his wife, he erected Brittany and Artois into peerages. Now the ſovereigns of theſe ſtates certainly never came to try cauſes in the parliament of Paris, although many of the biſhops did. This new parliament at its firſt inſtitution met four times a year. The members of this court were frequently changed, and were paid out of the king's treaſury for the ſeats they vacated.

Theſe parliaments were called ſovereign courts, and the preſident was ſtiled the ſovereign of the body, which ſignifies no more than the head or chief, as may be proved by the very words of an ordinance made by Philip the Fair, viz. "That no maſter ſhall preſume to abſent himſelf from the court without the permiſſion of his ſovereign." I muſt here likewiſe obſerve, that no one was permitted to plead by proxy, but was to appear before the court in perſon, unleſs the king's expreſs diſpenſation firſt obtained.

If the prelates had preſerved their right of aſſiſting at the ſittings of this perpetual aſſembly, it would then have become a perpetual aſſembly of general eſtates. The biſhops were excluded from this aſſembly by Philip the Long, in 1320. At firſt they preſided in the parliament, and took place of the chancellor. The firſt layman who

who ſate as preſident in this court by order from the king, in 1320, was a count of Boulogne. The gentlemen of the law had only the title of counſellors till the year 1350. After that, when the civilians became preſidents, they wore the knights mantle, had the privileges of nobility, and were frequently ſtiled *chevaliers ès loiz*, or knights at law. But the nobles by name and arms always affected to ſhew a contempt for this pacific body of nobility. The deſcendants of profeſſors of the law are to this day excluded from a ſeat in the chapters of Germany. It is a relick of ancient barbarity to annex a contemptuous idea to the moſt noble function of humanity that of diſtributing juſtice.

It was in this perpetual parliament which ſate at Paris in St. Lewis's palace, that Charles VI. held, on the twenty-third of December 1420, that famous bed of juſtice, at which the king of England, Henry V. was preſent, whom on that occaſion Charles ſtiled his well beloved ſon Henry V. hereditary regent of the kingdom; and at the ſame time the king's own ſon was called Charles, ſtiling himſelf the dauphin; and all the accomplices in the murder of John the Fearleſs, duke of Burgundy, were declared guilty of high treaſon, and deprived of all right of inheritance, which was in fact condemning the dauphin without naming him.

But what is ſtill more, it is affirmed that in the regiſters of parliament, in the year 1420, there is an entry, importing that the dauphin, (afterwards Charles VII.) having been previouſly ſummoned three times by ſound of trumpet to ſurrender himſelf in the month of January, had been condemned for contumacy, and ad-

adjudged to perpetual exile, from which ſentence, adds the regiſter, "He appealed to God and his ſword." If this regiſter is authentic, there was an interval of almoſt a year between this ſentence and the holding the bed of juſtice, which afterwards confirmed but too ſtrongly this fatal decree. It is however not at all ſurpriſing that they iſſued ſuch an arret; for Philip duke of Burgundy, ſon to the murdered duke, was all-powerful in Paris, and the dauphin's mother was become an implacable enemy to her own ſon; the king had loſt his reaſon, and was in the hand of ſtrangers; and, in ſhort, the dauphin had puniſhed one crime, by another ſtill more horrible; for he had cauſed his relation, John of Burgundy, to be aſſaſſinated in his own preſence, after having drawn him thither upon the faith of the moſt ſolemn oaths. We ſhould likewiſe conſider what the temper of the times then were. This ſame Henry V. king of England and regent of France, had been impriſoned at London, while prince of Wales, by the ſole authority of a common judge, whom he had ſtruck in open court while in the execution of his office.

This century likewiſe furniſhes us with another ſhocking inſtance of juſtice, carried even to a degree of horror. A ban of Croatia condemned Elizabeth queen regent of Hungary to be drowned for being concerned in the murder of Charles de Durazzo, king of Naples.

The ſentence of the parliament againſt the dauphin was of another kind; it was only an inſtrument acting under a ſuperior power. They did not proceed againſt John duke of Burgundy till he aſſaſſinated the duke of Orleans,

leans, and then it was only to revenge the murder of a murderer.

In reading the deplorable hiſtory of thoſe times, we are to recollect, that after the famous treaty of Troyes, which gave the kingdom of France to Henry V. of England, there were two parliaments in the kingdom aſſembled at the ſame time, as again happened near three hundred years afterwards in the time of the league; but during the ſubverſion of the government under Charles VI. there were two kings, two queens, two parliaments, two univerſities of Paris, and each ſide had its marechals and great officers of ſtate.

I muſt obſerve furthermore, that in theſe times when a peer of the kingdom was to be tried, the king was obliged to preſide in perſon at the trial. Charles VII. in the laſt year of his reign, did, in compliance with this cuſtom, ſit as preſident of the judges who condemned the duke of Alençon; a cuſtom which afterwards came to be looked upon as derogatory to juſtice and the royal dignity, ſince the preſence of the ſovereign might ſeem to influence the votes; and that in a criminal affair, that preſence which ought only to be the diſpenſer of grace and favours, might be obliged to become the inflicter of puniſhments.

Laſtly, I ſhall remark, that, in the trial of a peer, it was neceſſary, that the whole body of peers ſhould be aſſembled, as being his natural judges. To theſe Charles VII. in the affair of the duke of Alençon, added the great officers of the crown. He did ſtill more; for he admitted into this aſſembly the treaſurers of France, and the lay-deputies of the parliament.

Thus

Thus do all things change; and the hiſtory of cuſtoms, laws, and privileges, is in many countries, and eſpecially in France, only a moving picture.

It is therefore an idle project, and an ungrateful taſk, to endeavour to refer every thing to antient cuſtoms, or to fix that wheel which time is eternally whirling round, with an irreſiſtible motion. To what æra muſt we go back? To that when the word parliament ſignified an aſſembly of the leaders of the Franks, who met together on the firſt day of March, to ſettle the diviſion of ſpoils? Or to that in which all the biſhops had a right to ſit in a court of juſtice, known alſo by the name of parliament? Or to the times when the barons held the commons in a ſtate of ſlavery? To what age, I ſay, or what laws, muſt we go back? What cuſtom muſt we abide by? A citizen of Rome might, with as great certainty, aſk a pope for the ſame conſuls, the ſame tribunes, the ſame ſenate, and the ſame comitiæ; nay, for the very ſelf-ſame form of government which prevailed in the antient Roman republic; or a citizen of Athens demand of the ſultan the ancient areopagus, and aſſemblies of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Of the COUNCIL of BASIL, held in the Time of CHARLES VII.

WHAT the general eſtates are to kings, ſuch are councils to the popes: but thoſe things which have the neareſt reſemblance with each other frequently differ the moſt. In thoſe monarchies where the republican ſpirit was the moſt prevalent, the eſtates never thought themſelves ſuperior to their kings; although they may have depoſed them in a time of urgent neceſſity and diſorder. The electors who depoſed the emperor Winceſlaus never looked upon themſelves as ſuperior to an emperor in poſſeſſion of the royal authority. The cortes of Arragon told the king whom they elected, "Nos que valemos tanto como vos, y que podemos mas que vos *:" but when the king was crowned, they no longer expreſſed themſelves in that manner, nor pretended to be ſuperior to the perſon whom they had made maſter over them †.

* *i. e.* We who are as good as yourſelf, and can do more than you. See Chap. LII. Vol. II.

† The ſtates as repreſentatives of, and truſtees for the people, can never exert more power than is veſted in them by their conſtituents, and this is always limited to the preſervation of the preſent conſtitution. But in caſes of emergency, ſhould it ever become neceſſary to ſacrifice the prince to the preſervation of the community, the nation muſt go back to the firſt principles of ſociety, and the majority of individuals concur in the depoſition.

But

But it is not the ſame with an aſſembly of biſhops of a number of churches equally independent, as it is with the body of a monarchical ſtate. This body has a ſovereign, and the churches have only one chief metropolitan. But matters of religion, and the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, can never be ſubject to the deciſion of a ſingle perſon, in contradiction to the whole world beſides. The councils therefore are ſuperior to the popes, in the ſame ſenſe as the opinions of a thouſand perſons ought to be deemed ſuperior to that of a ſingle one. It remains then to know whether theſe councils have the ſame right of depoſing the head of the church, as the diets of Poland and the electors of the Germanic empire have of depoſing their ſovereign.

This is one of thoſe queſtions which is to be decided only by the argument *a fortiori*. If, on the one hand, a ſimple provincial ſynod has a power of diveſting a common biſhop of his dignities; by a much ſtronger reaſon, can the aſſembly of the whole chriſtian world degrade the biſhop of Rome. But again, on the other hand, this biſhop is a ſovereign prince, and did not receive his dignity from a council: how then can the councils pretend to take it from him, eſpecially if his own ſubjects are ſatisfied with his adminiſtration? It would be in vain for all the biſhops of the world to depoſe from his epiſcopal function an eccleſiaſtical elector, with whom the empire, and his own electorate were ſatisfied: he would ſtill continue to be an elector, and enjoy all his rights as ſuch; juſt as a king, excommunicated by eccleſiaſtical cenſure, would, if maſter in his kingdom,

kingdom, continue to be the ſovereign of that dom.

The council of Conſtance depoſed the ſovereign of Rome, becauſe the people of Rome neither would nor could oppoſe its proceedings. The council of Baſil, which pretended ten years afterwards to follow the ſame example, gave a proof how little example is to be relied upon, and how greatly affairs, which are ſeemingly alike, may differ; and alſo, that what may be a great and exemplary boldneſs at one time, may appear raſh and weak at another.

The council of Baſil was only a prolongation of ſeveral others, proclaimed by pope Martin V. at different times, at Pavia and at Sienna. But as ſoon as pope Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers began, by declaring, that the pope had neither the right of diſſolving their aſſembly, nor yet of removing its ſeat; and that he was ſubject to them, under pain of puniſhment. Pope Eugenius immediately, upon this declaration, ordered the council to be diſſolved. There ſeems to have been more zeal than prudence in this precipitate ſtep taken by the fathers, and a zeal that might have had fatal conſequences.

The emperor Sigiſmund, who was then reigning, was not maſter of the perſon of Eugenius, as he had been of that of John XXIII. He therefore kept fair at once with both pope and council. This ſcandalous buſineſs was for a long time confined to negotiations, in which both the whole eaſtern and weſtern churches were made parties. The Greek empire was no longer in a condition to make head againſt the Turk, without the aſſiſtance of the Latin princes.

ces. It was neceſſary therefore for the Greek church, if it was deſirous of obtaining this weak ſupport, to ſubmit to that of Rome: but it was far from entertaining ſuch a thought; and the more preſſing the danger grew, the more obſtinate were the Greeks. But the emperor John Paleologus, who was principally affected by this danger, conſented out of policy, to that which his clergy refuſed through obſtinacy, and was ready to grant every thing, provided he might but obtain ſome aſſiſtance. He therefore addreſſed himſelf, at the ſame time, to the pope and to the council, who each of them diſputed the honour of humbling the Greeks. John ſent ambaſſadors to Baſil, where the pope had ſome partiſans of greater abilities than the reſt of the fathers. The council had decreed that a ſum of money ſhould be ſent to the emperor, with a few galleys to bring him over to Italy; and that he ſhould have reception in the city of Baſil. The pope's emiſſaries privately framed another decree, by which it was declared, in the name of the council, that they would receive the emperor in Florence, whither the pope would cauſe the aſſembly to be removed: they likewiſe found means to open the lock of the caſket in which the ſeal of the council was kept, with which they ſealed this decree, ſo oppoſite to the true one made by the council, to which they ſigned the names of the fathers. This Italian trick ſucceeded; and it was plain, that after this the pope would have the advantage in every thing over the council.

This aſſembly had no chief capable of uniting them, and cruſhing the pope, as that of Conſtance had. Neither had it any determinate

nate point in view; but acted with so little prudence, that, in a memorial which the fathers delivered to the Greek ambassadors, they declared, that having already destroyed the heresy of the Hussites, they were now going to destroy the heresy of the Greek church. The pope, on the contrary, was more artful, and managed the negotiation on his side with more address; he breathed nothing but brotherly love and union, and never spoke of the Greeks but in the gentlest terms. Eugenius was a person of great prudence; he had appeased the troubles in Rome, and was become very powerful. He took care to have his galleys ready before those of the council.

The emperor embarked at the pope's expence, taking with him his patriarch, and a few chosen bishops, who were willing to renounce all the tenets of the Greek church for the interest of their country. The pope received them at Ferrara; and the emperor and his bishops, in the midst of their real submission, preserved in appearance the imperial majesty, and the dignity of the Greek church. No one of them kissed the pope's feet; but, after some few altercations about the *filioque processit*, which had for a long time been added by the church of Rome to the antient homily, the unleavened bread, and the doctrine of purgatory, they conformed to all the Romish tenets.

The pope now removed his council to Ferrara in Florence; and here it was that the deputies of the Greek church admitted the doctrine of purgatory. In this council it was determined, "that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the father and the son by the production of *spiration*;

ſpiration; that the father communicates the whole of his divine eſſence to the ſon, excepting only his fatherhood; and that the productive power is given to the Son from all eternity."

At length the Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almoſt all the other prelates, ſubſcribed at Florence to the long diſputed point of the primacy of the biſhop of Rome.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but tranſitory. The whole Greek church diſowned what had been done; but ſtill the pope's victory was no leſs glorious, and never had any pontiff before him the appearance of enjoying ſo complete a triumph.

At the the very time time that he was rendering this eſſential ſervice to the Latins, and putting an end, as far as in him lay, to the ſchiſm between the eaſtern and weſtern churches, he was by the council of Baſil depoſed from the pontificate, and declared "A rebel, a
1419 ſimoniſt, a ſchiſmatic, a heretic, and guilty of perjury."

If we judge of this council from this decree, it will appear no better than a company of factious ſpirits: but if we conſider the excellent rules for diſcipline which it inſtituted, it will then appear an aſſembly of the wiſeſt men; and for this reaſon, that paſſion had no part in its regulations, but was confined wholly to the depoſition of Eugenius. The moſt auguſt body, when led away by faction, always commits greater faults than a ſingle perſon. Charles VII.'s council in France adopted the prudent regulations of this council, and rejected that decree which had been dictated by the ſpirit of party.

Theſe

Theſe were the regulations which ſerved to compoſe the pragmatic ſanction, which has been ſo long the darling of the people of France, that made by St. Lewis being no longer in force. The cuſtoms which they had vainly attempted to renew in France were utterly aboliſhed by the addreſs of the Romans. They were now eſtabliſhed by this famous pragmatic ſanction. The elections made by the clergy, with the approbation of the king, were confirmed; the cuſtom of annates was declared ſimony, and reſervations and reverſions had in execration. But, on the one hand, they never ventured to do all that they might, and, on the other hand, they never did what they ought to have done. This celebrated law, by which the liberties of the Gallican church are ſecured, allows of a final appeal to the pope, who in that caſe may depute judges to preſide in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, which might eaſily be compromiſed by the biſhops of the country. This was in ſome meaſure acknowledging the pope for maſter: and at the ſame time that this pragmatic law confers on him the chief of all prerogatives, it forbids him to make any more than twenty-four cardinals, with juſt as much reaſon as the pope would have to limit the number of dukes and peers of France, and grandees of Spain. Thus the whole is a contradiction.

The regulations eſtabliſhed by this council alſo gave riſe to the Germanic concordate; but the pragmatic law has been aboliſhed in France, and the Germanic concordate ſtill continues in force, as indeed all the German cuſtoms have done. The election of prelates, the inveſti-

tures

tures of princes, the privileges of towns, rights, rank, and order of precedency, are almoſt all the ſame as they originally were. On the contrary, there are none of the cuſtoms of Charles VII. now remaining in France.

The council of Baſil having in vain depoſed a pope, who on account of his worth and abilities continued to be acknowledged by all Europe, afterwards ſet up in oppoſition to him a mere phantom. This was Amadeus VIII. duke of Savoy, who was the firſt of his family who had born the title of duke, and afterwards turned hermit at Ripaille *, from a motive of devotion which Poggio is far from thinking real. Be that as it may, his devotion could not hold out againſt the temptation of being made pope. Accordingly he was declared ſupreme pontiff, though a layman; but that which had occaſioned a violent ſchiſm, and the moſt bloody wars in the time of Urban VI. now only produced a few eccleſiaſtical diſputes, bulls, cenſures, mutual excommunications, and violent invectives: for, as the council had called Eugenius ſimoniſt, ſchiſmatic, heretic, and perjured, Eugenius's ſecretary returned the abuſe, by ſtiling the fathers fools, madmen, and barbarians; and Amadeus, Cerberus and Antichriſt. In fine, in the papacy of Nicholas V. this council diſperſed gradually of itſelf; and this pope-hermit, duke of Savoy, contented himſelf with a cardinal's hat, and left the church in its uſual
1449 tranquility.

* A little town in Savoy, now famous for its Carthuſian monaſtery, built by this Amadeus, when he laid down the papal dignity.

Upon

Upon the whole, this council is a proof how greatly affairs change with the times. The fathers of the council of Conſtance condemned John Hus and Jerome of Prague to the ſtake, notwithſtanding their declaration of not adhering to the doctrine of Wickliff, and the clear explanation they gave of the real preſence, merely for perſiſting in the ſentiments of Wickliff relating to the church hierarchy and diſcipline.

The Huſſites, in the time of the council of Baſil, went much greater lengths than the founders of their ſect had done; Procopius, ſurnamed the Shaven, the famous general, and ſucceſſor of John Ziſka, came to hold a diſputation at this council, at the head of 200 gentlemen of his party. He maintained, among other things, that "monks were an invention of the devil," and thus he offered to prove it, "Can you ſay, ſaid he, that they were inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt?" We cannot, anſwered Cardinal Julian: "Well then, (replied Procopius) it is clear it muſt have been by the devil." An argument truly worthy of a Bohemian captain in thoſe days. Æneas Silvius, who was witneſs to this ſcene, ſays, that they only anſwered Procopius by a general laugh; the council of Conſtance anſwered John Hus and Jerome of Prague by a ſentence of death.

We have ſeen how low the Greek emperors had fallen, during this council. They muſt have been approaching very near to ruin, when they went like beggars to Rome to ſue for a feeble ſupport, and ſacrificed their religion to obtain it. Accordingly, a few years afterwards, they were wholly ſubdued by the Turks,

who took Conſtantinople. We ſhall now enquire into the cauſes and conſequences of this revolution.

CHAP. LXXIV.

The Fall of the GREEK EMPIRE.

THE cruſades in depopulating the Weſt opened the breach by which the Turks at length entered into Conſtantinople; for the chiefs of theſe expeditions, by uſurping the empire of the Eaſt, weakened it, and when the Greeks afterwards recovered it from them, it was in a mangled and impoveriſhed condition.

We muſt not forget that the Greeks recovered their empire in the year 1261; and that Michael Paleologus took it from the Latin uſurpers, to deprive his pupil John Laſcaris of the crown. We are likewiſe to recollect, that in thoſe days Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, invaded Naples and Sicily; and that, had it not been for the affair of the Sicilian Veſpers, he would have diſputed with the tyrant Paleologus the poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, deſtined to be a prey to uſurpers.

This Michael Paleologus kept fair with the popes, in hopes to avert the ſtorm which threatned him. He flattered them with the ſubmiſſion of the Greek church; but his low politics were not ſufficient to counterbalance the ſpirit of party and ſuperſtition which prevailed in his country, and he made himſelf ſo odious by his manner of proceeding, that his own ſon Andronicus,

dronicus, an unhappily bigotted ſchiſmatic, either durſt not, or would not grant him the rites of Chriſtian burial. 1283

The unhappy Greeks, though preſſed on all ſides by the Turks and Latins, were taken up with diſputing about the transfiguration of Jeſus Chriſt; one half of the empire pretending that the light upon mount Tabor had been from all eternity, and the other half that it had been produced by God, only for the purpoſe of the transfiguration. In the mean time the Turks were ſtrengthening themſelves in Aſia Minor, from whence they ſoon over-ran Thrace.

Ottoman, from whom all the Oſmanlis emperors deſcended, had fixed the ſeat of his empire at Byrſa, in Bythinia. Orcan his ſon advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis, and the emperor John Cantacuſenes was glad to give him his daughter in marriage. The nuptials were celebrated at Scutari, over againſt Conſtantinople; ſoon after which Cantacuſenes, finding himſelf unable to keep the empire which another diſputed with him, retired into a monaſtery. An emperor, father-in-law to a Turkiſh ſultan, and himſelf a monk, gave a ſtrong preſage of the fall of the empire.

The Turks wanted to paſs into Europe, but were prevented for want of ſhipping. But ſo deſpicable was the condition of the empire at that time, that the Genoeſe, for paying a ſmall fine, were ſuffered to have poſſeſſion of Galata, which is looked upon as one of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, and is only ſeparated from it by a canal which forms the port. It is ſaid ſultan Amurath, ſon to this Orcan, engaged the Genoeſe to tranſport his ſoldiers to the other

ſide of the ſtreight. The bargain was concluded; and thus, it is ſaid, did the Genoeſe, for a few thouſand gold beſants, betray the empire into the hands of the Infidels; others ſay, that Amurath only made uſe of Genoeſe ſhips: however, he paſſed the ſtreight with his army, and advanced to Adrianopolis, where he fixed his quarters, and threatened all Chriſtendom with an inva-
1357 ſion. The emperor, John Paleologus, haſtened to Rome, where he kiſſed the feet of pope Urban V. acknowledged his primacy, and humbled himſelf in the moſt abject manner, for the ſake of obtaining, through his mediation, thoſe ſuccours which the ſituation of Europe, and the fatal examples of the cruſades, would no longer admit of granting: therefore, after having in vain ſtooped to the pope, he returned to crouch beneath Amurath. He made a treaty with this ſultan, not as a king with a king, but as a ſlave with his maſter, and at once ſerved as a lieutenant and hoſtage to the Tur-
kiſh conqueror. And, after Amurath
1374 and this Paleologus had each of them put out the eyes of his eldeſt ſon, of whom they were alike jealous, Paleologus gave his ſecond ſon to the ſultan; and this ſon, whoſe name was Manuel, ſerved in the army of Amurath againſt the Chriſtians.

Sultan Amurath was the firſt who gave to the Janiſſary militia*, which had been inſtituted before,

* It was in the year 1362, in the reign of this Amurath, *alias* Morâd-Can I. that the vizier appointed certain officers at the ſtraits of Kallipolis to ſeize every fifth captive that ſhould be taken by the ſultan's army, in order to conſtitute a body

before, that form under which it at preſent ſubſiſts. Being aſſaſſinated as he was purſuing his victories, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Bajazet Ilderim, or Bajazet the Thunderbolt. The infamy and humiliation of the Greek emperors were now become complete. Andronicus, the unhappy ſon of John Paleologus, whom his father had deprived of his ſight, fled to Bajazet, and implored his protection againſt his father, and his brother Manuel. Bajazet gave him four thouſand horſe; and the Genoeſe, who were ſtill maſters of Galata, furniſhed him with men and money. Andronicus, thus aſſiſted by the Turks and Genoeſe, made himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople, and ſhut his father up in priſon. 1389

The father at the end of two years reſumed the throne, and built a citadel near Galata, in order to ſtop the progreſs of Bajazet, who already began to project the ſiege of Conſtantinople. Bajazet upon this commanded him to demoliſh the citadel, and admit a Turkiſh cadi into the city, as judge of the Turkiſh merchants who were ſettled there. This order the

a body of troops. Theſe being accordingly ſelected to a conſiderable number, were ſent to Sheykh Hagi Bektaſh, a Turk, celebrated for his piety and holy life, deſiring he would give them a banner and a name, and pray for their ſucceſs. For their banner, he beſtowed upon them the ſleeve of his gown, denominated them *Yengicheri*, which ſignifies New Soldiers; and prayed that their countenances might be ever bright, their hands victorious, and their ſwords keen; that their ſpears might always hang over the heads of their enemy; and that whereſoever they went, they might return with white faces, *i. e.* good fortune. Their number is forty thouſand; and they take rank of all the other Turkiſh ſoldiery.

emperor complied with. In the mean time Bajazet leaving Conſtantinople behind him, as a ſure prey upon which he could fall again at pleaſure, advanced into the midſt of Hungary; there he gained a complete victory over the Chriſtian army, and thoſe brave French commanded by Sigiſmond emperor of the Weſt. The French, before the battle, put all their Turkiſh priſoners to the ſword; we are not therefore to wonder that Bajazet, after his victory, ordered all the French priſoners he had taken to be likewiſe put to death, they themſelves having ſet him this cruel example. He reſerved only five and twenty knights from the general ſlaughter, among whom was Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, whom Bajazet thus beſpoke while he was receiving his ranſom. "I might oblige thee to ſwear never more to bear arms againſt me, but I equally deſpiſe thy oaths and thy arms."

After this defeat, Manuel, who was become emperor † of the city of Conſtantinople, went to the ſeveral courts of Europe to petition for aſſiſtance, as his father had formerly done. He came to France; but he could not have applied in a leſs favourable conjuncture for aſſiſtance from that court: it was during the phrenzy of Charles VI. when the kingdom was involved in numberleſs diſorders. Manuel remained two whole years at Paris, while the capital of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt was blocked

† He had aſcended the imperial throne with the conſent of his brother Andronicus, who renounced the purple by way of pennance, for having rebelled againſt his father.

up

up by the Turks, who at length laid ſiege to it in form, and its ruin ſeemed inevitable; but it was put off for ſome time by one of thoſe great events which fill the world with confuſion.

The dominion of the Mogul Tartars, of which we have already ſeen the origin *, extended from the Volga to the frontiers of China, and as far as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, one of the princes of theſe Tartars, reprieved Conſtantinople for a time, by turning his arms againſt Bajazet.

CHAP. LXXV.

OF TAMERLANE.

TIMOUR, whom I ſhall call Tamerlane, in conformity to the general cuſtom, was, according to the beſt hiſtorians, deſcended from Gengis-Can by the female ſide. He was born in the year 1357, in the city of Caſh, in the territories of the ancient Sogdiana, whither the Greeks formerly penetrated under Alexander the Great, and ſettled ſome colonies. It is at preſent inhabited by the Uſbec Tartars. It begins upon the borders of the Gihon or Oxus; which river has its ſource in Leſſer Thibet, about ſeven hundred leagues from the ſource of the Tygris and Euphrates. This is the ſame river Gihon which we find mentioned in the book of Geneſis.

* See Chap. xlviii. Vol. II.

At the mention of the city of Caſh we are ready to figure to ourſelves a deſart country. It lies however in the ſame climate with Naples and Provence, and in a word, is a delightful country.

At the name of Tamerlane we are again apt to form an idea of a barbarian, little removed from a brute: but let it be remembered, as we have before obſerved, that there never was a great conqueror among princes, nor in private life any perſon remarkably fortunate, without that kind of merit which always meets with ſucceſs for its reward. Now Tamerlane muſt undoubtedly have had the greater ſhare of the merit peculiar to ambition, who, born without any dominions of his own, ſubdued more countries than Alexander, and almoſt as many as Gengis-Can. His firſt conqueſt was the city of Balk, the capital of Coraſſan, on the borders of Perſia. After that he ſubdued the province of Candahar, and reduced all ancient Perſia; then returning back again, he conquered the people of Tranſoxana, and next made himſelf maſter of Bagdat. He went to India, which he alſo ſubdued, and took poſſeſſion of Deli, which is its capital. We find, that all thoſe who have made themſelves maſters of Perſia, have in like manner conquered or ravaged India. Thus Darius Ocus reduced it after many others; and after him Alexander, Gengis-Can, and Tamerlane, found it an eaſy conqueſt. Shah Nadir in our time only ſhewed himſelf there, gave it laws, and brought off immenſe treaſures.

Tamerlane, after having conquered India, returned back and fell upon Syria, whoſe capital city, Damaſcus, he took. He then haſtened back

back to Bagdat, which he had lately conquered, and which now attempted to throw off his yoke: he reduced it, and gave it up to plunder and the ſword. It is ſaid, that on this occaſion above eight hundred thouſand inhabitants were put to death. The city was razed to the foundations. In theſe countries cities were eaſily deſtroyed, and as eaſily rebuilt, the houſes being, as we have elſewhere remarked, built only of bricks dried in the ſun*. In the midſt of this ſeries of victories, it was, that the Greek emperor, after having in vain ſollicited ſuccours from the Chriſtians, addreſſed himſelf at length to the Tartar. Five Mahometan princes, whom Bajazet had driven out of their kingdoms on the borders of the Pontus Euxinus, came at the ſame time to implore his aſſiſtance. Thus invited by Muſſulmans and Chriſtians, he marched into Aſia Minor.

There is one circumſtance which may give us an advantageous idea of Tamerlane's character, which is, that we find him, through the whole courſe of this war, ſtrictly obſervant of the laws of nations. Before he commenced hoſtilities, he ſent ambaſſadors to Bajazet, requiring him to raiſe the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and do juſtice to the Muſſulman princes, whom he had deprived of their kingdoms. Bajazet received theſe propoſals with the utmoſt rage and contempt; upon which Tamerlane declared war againſt him, and continued his march. Bajazet immediately raiſed the ſiege of Conſtantinople; and between Cæſarea and Ancira was fought that great battle, in 1401

* See Vol. I. towards the beginning.

which all the forces of the world ſeemed met together †. Tamerlane's troops muſt doubtleſs have been extremely well diſciplined; for, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, they conquered thoſe which had defeated the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Germans, the French, and many other warlike nations. We may be almoſt certain, that on this occaſion Tamerlane, who till then had always fought with the bow and the ſcimetar, made uſe of cannon againſt the Ottomans; and that it was him who ſent thoſe pieces of ordnance into the Mogul country, which are to be ſeen there to this day, and on which there are graven certain unintelligible characters. The Turks, on their ſide, not only made uſe of cannon, but alſo of the ancient wild-fire. This double advantage would have infallibly given them the victory over Tamerlane, had he not made uſe of artillery.

Bajazet, in this battle, ſaw his ſon Muſtapha ſlain, fighting by his ſide; and he himſelf fell captive into the hands of the conqueror, with another of his ſons, named Muſa, or Moſes.

It may not be diſpleaſing to know the conſequences of this memorable battle, between two

† Schilperger, who was in the battle, ſays the army of Tamerlane amounted to one million ſix hundred thouſand men; and that the number of Bajazet's did not exceed four hundred thouſand. Shariſo'dden, in his hiſtory of Timur, ſays, that when Bajazet was brought to his tent in chains, he received him with great humanity, cauſed him to ſit down, and complained in mild terms of his obſtinacy. The priſoner having owned his offence, and aſked pardon, Tamerlane gave him a ſplendid veſt in token of reconciliation, and ever after treated him with reſpect. It does not appear in any hiſtorian that Tamerlane uſed artillery in this battle.

nations

nations which ſeemed to diſpute for the maſtery of Europe and Aſia, and two mighty conquerors, whoſe names are ſtill celebrated by poſterity; a battle likewiſe which, for a time, preſerved the Greek empire from ruin, and might have contributed to the overthrow of the Turkiſh power.

The Turkiſh annals tell us, that Tamerlane ſhut Bajazet up in an iron cage; but we meet with nothing like this in any of the Perſian or Arabian authors who have written the life of Tamerlane. Is this then a ſtory calculated to render the memory of Tamerlane odious? or rather, may we not ſuppoſe that the Turkiſh writers have copied from the Greek hiſtorians? The Arabian authors pretend that Tamerlane made Bajazet's queen wait on him at table half-naked; and this has given riſe to the received fable, that the Turkiſh ſultans have never married ſince this inſult offered to the wife of their predeceſſor; a fable which is ſufficiently contradicted by the marriage of Amurath II. whom we ſhall hereafter ſee eſpouſed to the daughter of a deſpot of Servia, and by that of Mahomet II. with the daughter of a prince of Turcomania.

It is difficult to reconcile this ſtory of the iron cage and the brutal inſult offered to Bajazet's wife, with that generoſity which the Turks aſcribe to Tamerlane, who tell us, that when this conqueror had entered into Burſa or Pruſa, the capital of the Turkiſh dominions in Aſia, he wrote a letter to Bajazet's ſon Solyman, which would have done honour even to Alexander himſelf. In this letter Tamerlane thus expreſſes himſelf: "I am deſirous to forget

that I have been the enemy of Bajazet, and will be a father to his children, provided they will wait the effects of my clemency. I am contented with the conquests I have already gained, and am not to be tempted by the hopes of new favours from the hand of fickle fortune."

Supposing such a letter to have been really written, it was certainly no more than an artifice. The Turks say farther, that Solyman, not hearkning to this generous proposal of Tamerlane, that prince declared Musa, the other son of Bajazet, sultan in Bursa, and that on this occasion he said to him, "Receive the inheritance of thy father; a royal mind knows how to give as well as to conquer kingdoms."

The Oriental historians, as well as ours, frequently put words into the mouths of illustrious personages, which were never spoke by them. This wondrous magnanimity towards the son does but ill agree with the barbarous treatment he is accused of towards the father. All that we can gather of certain, or that merits our attention, is, that this great victory of Tamerlane did not deprive the Turks of a single city: this Musa, whom he made sultan, and whom he protected in opposition to his two brothers, Solyman and Mahomet I. could not, even with his assistance, make head against them; and in the thirteen years civil war which ensued between the children of Bajazet, Tamerlane does not seem to have gained any great advantage, which, together with the bad success of this new sultan, clearly shews that the Turks were a truly warlike people, who, tho' they might be conquered, were not to be enslaved; and that the Tartar, finding that he could

could not eaſily extend his conqueſts, nor form a ſettlement in Aſia Minor, turned his arms elſewhere.

His pretended magnanimity towards Bajazet's ſons, was certainly not the effect of his moderation; for we find him ſoon afterwards ravaging all Syria, which belonged to the Egyptian Mammelucs. He then repaſſed the Euphrates, and returned to the city of Samarcand, which he conſidered as the capital of his vaſt empire. He had conquered almoſt as great an extent of territory as Gengis-Can; for, altho' this latter made himſelf maſter of a part of China and Corea, Tamerlane was for ſome time in poſſeſſion of Syria and a part of Aſia Minor, whither Gengis had never been able to penetrate. He was likewiſe maſter of almoſt all Indoſtan; whereas Gengis had ſubdued only the northern provinces of that vaſt empire. While he remained at Samarcand, he meditated the conqueſt of China, altho' far from being firmly eſtabliſhed in the immenſe dominions he already poſſeſſed, and at an age when his death could not be far diſtant.

It was in this city that he, like Gengis-Can, received the homage of ſeveral princes of Aſia, and ambaſſadors from many ſovereigns, particularly from the Greek emperor Manuel, and even from Henry III. king of Caſtile. On this occaſion he gave one of thoſe feaſts which reſembled the magnificent entertainments given of old by the firſt kings of Perſia. All the different orders of the ſtate, and the ſeveral artificers, paſſed in review before him, each carrying the badge of their profeſſion. He married all his grand-ſons and grand-

grand-daughters in the ſame day: at length he
1406 died in an extreme old age, after a reign of thirty-ſix years, happier with reſpect to his length of days, and having lived to ſee his grand-children happy, than Alexander, to whom the Orientals are ſo fond of comparing him; but otherwiſe far inferior to the Macedonian, being born in a barbarous nation, and having like Gengis-Can deſtroyed a multitude of cities without having built one; whereas Alexander, during the courſe of a very ſhort life, and in the midſt of his rapid conqueſts built Alexandria and Scanderoon, and rebuilt this very city of Samarcand, which afterwards became the ſeat of Tamerlane's empire, as likewiſe a number of other cities in India: he alſo eſtabliſhed ſeveral colonies of Greeks beyond the Oxus, ſent the aſtronomical obſervations of the Babylonians into Greece, and entirely changed the commerce of Aſia, Europe, and Africa, making Alexandria the magazine of the univerſe; ſo far then, in my opinion, Alexander ſurpaſſes Tamerlane, Gengis, and all the conquerors who have been put in competition with him.

I do not think that Tamerlane was of a more impetuous diſpoſition than Alexander. If I may be permitted to enliven a little the hiſtory of theſe dreadful events, and to mix the little with the great, I ſhall relate a ſtory which is told by a Perſian writer cotemporary with this prince. He ſays that a famous Perſian poet named Hamedi Kermani, being in the ſame bath with him and ſeveral of his courtiers, and diverting themſelves at a game which conſiſted in ſetting a certain value upon every one in the company,

I ſhould

I ſhould value you at thirty aſpers, ſaid he to the great Can. Why, the napkin that I wipe myſelf with, replied the prince, is worth that. "Yes, returned Hamedi, I reckon the napkin likewiſe." Perhaps a prince who would ſuffer theſe innocent freedoms could not be thought to have a very cruel diſpoſition; but great conquerors frequently divert themſelves with the inferior part of mankind, and deſtroy others.

Tamerlane was neither a Muſſulman‡ nor yet of the ſect of Lama, but like the learned in China, acknowledged only one God, in which he gave a proof of that good underſtanding which more civilized nations have been wanting in. We meet with no marks of ſuperſtition either in himſelf or his followers. He alike tolerated the Muſſulmen, the Lamians, and the other idolatrous ſects which are ſpread over India. It is even ſaid, that as he paſſed by Mount Lebanus, he aſſiſted at the religious ceremonies of the Maronite monks, who inhabited thoſe mountains. His greateſt foible was an attachment to judicial aſtrology, an error common to all men in thoſe times, and from which we ourſelves are but lately freed. He was not learned himſelf, but he took care to have his grandſons trained up in the knowledge of the ſciences. The famous Oulougbeg,

‡ Shariſo'dden expreſly ſays, that when Timur diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors of Bajazet, who brought him a very inſolent meſſage, he expreſſed his concern that he was conſtrained to invade the dominions of the Turk, while his forces were employed againſt the Infidels; and that he afterwards applauded Bajazet for having turned his arms againſt the enemies of the prophet.

who ſucceeded him in his dominions beyond the Oxus, founded in the city of Samarcand the firſt academy of ſciences: he cauſed the meaſure of the earth to be taken, and helped to compoſe the aſtronomical tables which bore his name, as king Alphonſo of Caſtile had done near a century before. At preſent the grandeur of Samarcand is fallen with the ſciences; and this country, now occupied by the Uſbec Tartars, is ſunk again into barbariſm, to become perhaps more flouriſhing in future times.

The poſterity of Tamerlane ſtill continue to reign in Indoſtan, which is now called Mogul, a name it has retained from the Mogul Tartars, the followers of Gengis-Can, who preſerved their conqueſts in that country till the time of Tamerlane. Another branch of his race reigned in Perſia till they were driven out by another dynaſty of Tartarian princes of the faction of the White Sheep in 1468.

And now, if we reflect that the Turks were alſo of Tartarian origin, and call to remembrance that Attila was deſcended from the ſame people, this will all together confirm what has been already obſerved †, that the Tartars have made the conqueſt of almoſt the whole globe. The reaſon we have already ſeen. They had nothing to loſe, and were the moſt robuſt and hardy of all other nations. But ſince the Oriental Tartars, after having made a ſecond time the conqueſt of China in the laſt century, have formed only one empire of China and eaſtern Tartary; ſince the Ruſſian empire is become more extenſive and more civilized; and ſince

† See Chap. xlviii. vol. 2.

the

the earth has been covered with ramparts, lined with artillery, we are no longer in dread of theſe prodigious emigrations. The civilized nations are ſecure from the irruptions of theſe Barbarians. All Tartary excepting China is now only the receptacle of a number of miſerable tribes, who would eſteem themſelves happy to be conquered in their turn, was it not ſtill more deſireable to be free than to be civilized.

CHAP. LXXVI.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the TURKS and GREEKS till the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE.

CONſtantinople was once out of danger by the victory which Tamerlane gained over Bajazet; but the ſucceſſors of this ſultan ſoon recovered their empire. The chief of Tamerlane's conqueſts were in Perſia, Syria, India, Armenia, and part of Ruſſia. The Turks quickly recovered Aſia Minor, and kept all they had conquered in Europe. In thoſe times there muſt certainly have been a more intimate correſpondence, or at leaſt not ſo great an averſion between the Mahometans and the Chriſtians as there is at preſent. John Paleologus made no difficulty to give his daughter in marriage to ſultan Orcan; and Amurath II. grandſon to Bajazet, and ſon to Mahomet I. very readily eſpouſed Irene, daughter to a deſpot of Servia.

Amu-

Amurath II. was one of thoſe Turkiſh princes who contributed to raiſe the grandeur of the Ottoman family; but he was far from being the dupe to that glare and pomp which waited upon the ſucceſs of his arms. His ſole view was to ſecure a quiet retreat. It was ſomewhat ſingular to ſee a Turkiſh monarch ſo much the philoſopher as to lay down his crown; yet this he did twice, and as often was in a manner obliged to reſume it at the repeated entreaties of his baſhaws and Janiſſaries.

John Paleologus made a journey to Rome to meet the council which pope Eugenius IV. had aſſembled at Florence †. There he held a diſputation upon the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt; while the Venetians, who were already maſters of one part of Greece, were purchaſing Theſſalonica, and the Chriſtians and the Mahometans were dividing his empire between them. In the mean time Amurath made himſelf maſter of Theſſalonica, almoſt as ſoon as the Venetians had purchaſed it. The Venetians imagined they had ſufficiently ſecured this country, and indeed provided for the defence of all Greece, by a wall eight hundred paces in length, in imitation of that built by the antient Romans in the north of England. This might have been a ſufficient defence againſt the incurſions of a ſavage and undiſciplined people, but availed little againſt the victorious arms of the Turkiſh militia. In ſhort they deſtroyed this wall, and puſhed their invaſion on all ſides, into Greece, Dalmatia, and Hungary.

† See Chap. lxxiii. in this Vol.

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The Hungarians had raiſed to their throne young Ladiſlaus IV. king of Poland. With this prince, Amurath II. after having proſecuted the war for ſome years in Hungary, Thrace, and all the adjacent countries, with various ſucceſs, concluded the moſt ſolemn treaty of peace that had ever been made between the Chriſtians and Mahometans. Amurath and Ladiſlaus took an oath to each other, the one on the alcoran, and the other on the Goſpels, by which the Turk on his ſide promiſed to puſh his conqueſts no farther, and even reſtored part of what he had taken. By this treaty the limits of the Ottoman poſſeſſions were ſettled as well as thoſe of the Hungarians and Venetians. 1444

But cardinal Julian Ceſarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his perſecutions of the Huſſites, for having been preſident of the council of Baſil at its firſt ſitting, and for the cruſade which he preached againſt the Turks, proved on this occaſion by his blind zeal the cauſe of the greateſt diſgrace and misfortunes to the Chriſtians.

The treaty of peace was ſcarcely ratified when this cardinal endeavoured to break it. He flattered himſelf with being able to engage the Venetians and Genoeſe to aſſemble a formidable fleet; and that the Greeks, rouſed from their long lethargy, would make one laſt effort for the preſervation of their liberties. The opportunity was certainly favourable; as it was at this very time that Amurath, relying upon the faith of this treaty, had devoted himſelf to retirement, and had reſigned the government to his ſon Mahomet, a young and unexperienced prince.

Some

Some pretext however was wanting for the violation of this treaty on the ſide of the Chriſtians. Amurath had obſerved all the conditions of the peace with an exactneſs which left thoſe who infringed it without an excuſe. The legate therefore had no other reſource left but to perſuade Ladiſlaus, the Hungarians, and Poliſh chiefs that it was lawful to violate their oath. For this purpoſe he harangued and wrote, and aſſured them that the peace which they had ſworn upon the Goſpel was of no effect, as having been done contrary to the inclination of the pope. In fact, Eugenius IV. the then pope, wrote himſelf to Ladiſlaus, commanding him in expreſs terms, "To break a peace which could not lawfully be made without the knowledge of the holy ſee." We have already ſeen that they had introduced the maxim, "That no faith was to be kept with heretics." It was therefore concluded that no faith was to be kept with Mahometans.

In juſt the ſame manner did antient Rome break her truce with Carthage in the laſt Punic war. But there was a conſiderable difference between the two events. The infidelity of the Roman ſenate was the oppreſſive act of a conqueror; that of the Chriſtians the effort of an oppreſſed people, to throw off the yoke of uſurpers. In fine, Julian prevailed; and all the chiefs ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the torrent, eſpecially John Corvinus Huniades, the famous Hungarian general, who ſo frequently engaged Amurath and Mahomet II.

Ladiſlaus, ſeduced by falſe hopes, and a manner of thinking which ſucceſs alone can juſtify, invaded the ſultan's territories. The janiſſaries upon

upon this went in a body to beſeech Amurath to quit his retirement, and put himſelf at their head, to which he conſented; and the two armies met near the Pontus Euxinus, in that country which is now known by the name of Bulgaria, but was then called Mæſia. The battle was fought near the city of Varno. Amurath wore in his boſom the 1444
treaty of peace which he had concluded with the Chriſtians, and which they had ſo lately infringed; and holding it up in the midſt of the croud, at a time that he found his troops began to give way, he called aloud upon God, beſeeching him to puniſh the perjured Chriſtians, and revenge the inſult offered to the laws of nations. This is what has given riſe to the fabulous report, that the peace was ſworn upon the euchariſt, and the hoſt depoſited in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this hoſt that he addreſſed himſelf in the day of battle. Perjury for this time met with the puniſhment it deſerved. The Chriſtians were defeated after an obſtinate reſiſtance. King Ladiſlaus, after receiving a number of wounds, had his head ſtruck off by a janiſſary, who carried it in triumph through the ranks of the Turkiſh army; at this fatal fight the rout of the Chriſtians became general.

Amurath, after his victory, cauſed the body of Ladiſlaus to be buried in the field of battle, with all military honours. It is even ſaid, that he cauſed a pillar to be erected on his grave; with an inſcription, which was ſo far from inſulting his memory, that it extolled his courage, and lamented his misfortunes.

Some

Some writers ſay that Cardinal Julian, who was preſent at this battle, endeavouring to croſs a river in his flight, was drowned by the weight of gold which he carried about him. Others again ſay that he was ſlain by the Hungarians. It is certain that he periſhed on that day.

But, what is moſt remarkable is, that Amurath, after having gained this ſignal victory, betook himſelf again to ſolitude; and a ſecond time abdicated the crown, which he was afterwards obliged to reſume, to go forth again to battle, and to conquer.

1451 At length he died in Andrianopolis, leaving the empire to his ſon Mahomet II. who ſtrove rather to imitate his father's courage than his philoſophy.

CHAP. LXXVII.

OF SCANDERBEG.

ANOTHER warrior of no leſs fame, whom I know not whether to call an Oſmaniſt or Chriſtian, checks the progreſs of Amaruth's arms, and for a long time became a rampart for the chriſtians againſt the victories of Mahomet II. The perſon I mean is Scanderbeg, who was born in Albania, a province of Epirus, a country illuſtrious in the times we call heroic, and in thoſe truly heroic ages of the Romans. His true name was John Caſtriot. He was the ſon of a deſpot or petty king of that country, that is to ſay, a vaſſal prince; for this is the meaning of the word deſpot;

deſpot; and it is ſurpriſing that the term deſpotic * ſhould have been applied to great ſovereigns who had rendered themſelves abſolute.

After the death of old Caſtriot, and ſeveral years before the battle of Varna already mentioned, ſultan Amurath made himſelf maſter of Albania, while this John Caſtriot, who was the only ſurvivor of four brothers, was yet a child. Amurath had him carefully brought up. The Turkiſh annals do not make the leaſt mention of the three other princes having been put to death by Amurath; nor does it at all appear that ſuch barbarity could agree with the character of a ſultan who had twice reſigned his crown; and it is as little probable that Amurath ſhould have ſhewn ſuch tenderneſs and confidence for a perſon from whom he could expect no return but an implacable hatred. He loaded him with favours, and would always have him fight by his ſide. The young Caſtriot diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo greatly in ſeveral engagements, that the ſultan and the Janiſſaries gave him the name of Scanderbeg, which ſignifies Lord Alexander.

At length, friendſhip getting the better of policy, Amurath entruſted him with the command of a ſmall army againſt the deſpot of Servia, who had ſided with the Chriſtians, and declared war againſt the ſultan his ſon-in-law. Scanderbeg, who was at that time barely twenty years of age, conceived the bold deſign of

* Deſpot and deſpotic are both Greek words. Δεσπότης ſignifies *dominus*, or lord. Δεσποτικὸς ſignifies *imperioſus*, imperious, ſo that it is not at all ſtrange that they ſhould be uſed in different acceptations.

throwing

throwing off ſubjection, and reigning for himſelf.

He knew that the ſecretary, who had the cuſtody of the ſultan's ſignet, was to paſs near his camp. He cauſed him to be ſeized, loaded him with chains, and compelled him to write, and put the ſultan's ſeal to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Epirus, to deliver the town and citadel to Scanderbeg.

After having diſpatched this order, he aſſaſſinated the ſecretary and all thoſe of his train.

He then marched with all diligence to
1443 Croia, which the governor, without heſitation, delivered up to him. The ſame night he cauſed a body of Albanians, with whom he had held a private correſpondence, to advance, who, entering the city, put the governor and his garriſon to the ſword, and afterwards aſſiſted Scanderbeg in reducing all Albania. The Albanians are reckoned the beſt ſoldiers of thoſe countries; and Scanderbeg knew ſo well how to manage them, and to take advantage of the ſituation of that craggy and mountainous country, that, with an handful of troops, he effectually oppoſed the numerous armies of the Turks.

The Muſſulmen look upon him as a perfidious wretch: but, after all, he only deceived his enemies. He recovered the poſſeſſion of his father's crown, and deſerved to wear it for his heroic courage †.

† His courage will not atone for his breach of truſt, perfidy, and cruelty.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE by the TURKS.

HAD the Greek emperors acted like Scanderbeg, the empire of the Eaſt might ſtill have been preſerved. But the ſame ſpirit of cruelty, weakneſs, diſcord, and ſuperſtition, which had ſhaken it for ſuch a length of time, now haſtened its final overthrow.

There were no leſs than three empires of the Eaſt, ſo called, when in reality there was but one. The city of Conſtantinople, which was in the hands of the Greeks; Adrianopole, the aſylum of the Laſcaris family, till taken by Amurath I. in 1362, and which has ever ſince belonged to the ſultans; and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, called Trebiſond, which ſerved for a retreat to the Comneni, was the third reputed empire.

This diſmembering of the empire was, as we have already obſerved, the only conſiderable effect produced by the cruſades. Ravaged as it had been by the Franks, and retaken again by its former maſters, only to undergo new deſolation, it is ſurpriſing that it ſubſiſted ſo long. There were two parties in Conſtantinople, bitter enemies to each other, on the ſcore of religion, as was nearly the caſe in Jeruſalem, when that city was beſieged by Veſpaſian and Titus. One of theſe factions was for the emperors, who, through the vain hopes of ſuccours from the Latins, had conſented to ſubject the Greek church to that of Rome. The

other was compoſed of the prieſts and the people, who, having freſh in their memories the invaſion of the cruſaders, utterly abhorred the thoughts of an union of the two churches. While theſe two factions were taken up with their mutual bickerings, and controverſial diſputes, the Turks appeared at their gates.

John VII. ſurnamed Paleologus, reigned in Conſtantinople twenty-ſeven years; and at his death, which happened in 1449, he left the empire in ſo weak a condition, that one of his ſons, called Conſtantine, was obliged to receive the confirmation of the imperial dignity from the Turkiſh ſultan Amurath II. as from his lord paramount. A brother of this Conſtantine had Lacedemonia, another Corinth, and a third all that part of Peloponneſus which did not belong to the Venetians.

1451 Such was the ſituation of the Greeks, when Mahomet Bouyouck, or the Great, ſucceeded ſultan Amurath, his father, for the ſecond time. The monkiſh writers have deſcribed this prince as a ſenſeleſs barbarian, who at one time cut off the head of his ſuppoſed miſtreſs Irene to appeaſe a ſedition of the Janiſſaries; and at another, ordered fourteen of his pages to have their bellies ript open, in order to diſcover which of them had eaten a melon that was miſſing. We ſtill find ſome of theſe abſurd ſtories in our biographical dictionaries, which have for a long time been little better than alphabetical regiſters of falſhoods.

All the Turkiſh annals inform us that Mahomet was one of the beſt educated princes of his time; what we have already obſerved concerning his father Amurath, ſufficiently proves that

that he was not likely to neglect the education of a ſon who was to ſucceed him in the kingdom. Nor has it ever been denied that Mahomet behaved with all filial reſpect and duty, and without hearkening to the dictates of ambition, in chearfully yielding the throne to his father Amurath, when deſirous of reſuming it. He twice returned to the degree of ſubject from that of king, without ſhewing the leaſt ſigns of diſcontent. This is an action unparalleled in hiſtory; and ſo much the more extraordinary, as Mahomet to an ambitious ſpirit added a fiery and impetuous diſpoſition.

He ſpoke the Greek, Arabian, and Perſian languages, underſtood Latin, and deſigning, and knew as much of geography and mathematics as could be known in thoſe times. He was fond of painting; and every lover of the liberal arts knows that he ſent for the famous Gentili Bellino from Venice, and rewarded him, as Alexander heretofore did Apelles, not only with a pecuniary gratification, but with the indulgence of his private friendſhip: he preſented him with a golden crown and chain, and three thouſand gold ducats; and ſent him home loaded with honours. And here I cannot help claſſing among the rank of improbable tales, that of the ſlave whoſe head Mahomet is ſaid to have cut off, to ſhew Bellino the action of the ſkin and muſcles in a neck ſeparated from the trunk. Theſe cruelties, though exerciſed by us upon animals, to anſwer certain purpoſes, are never practiſed by mankind upon one another, unleſs in the heat of fury and revenge, or agreeable

to the law of arms †. Mahomet II. was frequently guilty of cruel and ſavage actions, like all other conquerors who have ravaged the earth; but why impute cruelties of ſo improbable a nature to him? Or wherefore take delight in multiplying horrid relations?

He was twenty-two years of age when he aſcended the throne of the ſultans, and immediately formed the deſign of placing himſelf on that of Conſtantinople, while this wretched city was running into religious factions about uſing leavened or unleavened bread, or praying in Greek or in Latin.

1453 Mahomet II. began by blocking up the city on the ſide of Europe and Aſia. At length, in the beginning of April, he covered the whole adjacent country with his troops, which the exaggerated relations of the writers of thoſe times have made to amount to 300,000, and entered the ſtreight of Propontis with 300 galleys and 200 other ſmaller veſſels.

One of the moſt extraordinary and beſt atteſted facts is, the uſe which Mahomet made of a part of theſe veſſels. As they could not enter the harbour of Conſtantinople, by reaſon of the great chains and booms which the enemy had laid acroſs it, and which from their advantageous ſituation, they were able to defend againſt all attempts; he, in one night's time covered a ſpace of near two leagues upon the ſhore with deal planks, beſmeared with

† We cannot readily conceive our author's meaning in this place: ſurely the law of arms cannot in any nation authorize the wanton exerciſe of cruelties or barbarity.

greaſe

greaſe and tallow, and made in the form of a ſhip's cradle; and with the help of engines, and a prodigious number of men, he drew up eighty galleys, and ſeventy of the ſmaller veſſels, out of the water, upon theſe planks, from whence he launched them all into the harbour; and this amazing work was completed in the ſpace of one night, ſo that the next morning the beſieged were ſurpriſed with the ſight of a large fleet of ſhips riding in the midſt of their port. The ſame day he cauſed a bridge of boats to be built acroſs the harbour in their ſight, upon which he raiſed a battery of cannon.

Aſſuredly Conſtantinople muſt have been very deficient in artillery, or the artillery muſt have been very badly ſerved. Elſe what prevented the beſieged from beating this bridge of boats to pieces with their cannon? And it is rather doubtful what is ſaid of Mahomet's making uſe of cannon that carried balls of two hundred pounds weight. The conquered always exaggerate matters. It is plain that one of theſe balls would require near an hundred weight of powder to throw it to any diſtance. Now ſuch a quantity of powder could never be fired all at once, and the ball would be diſcharged from the cannon before the fifteenth part of the powder could take fire †, conſequently it would have very little effect. Perhaps the Turks might,

† This is not true in fact: if it were, the ſame would happen in a charge of one pound, as well as in one of a hundred, becauſe the proportion of reſiſtance is the ſame in both; and we ſee every day ſhells of five times that weight diſcharged from mortars with the full effect of the powder.

through ignorance, have made uſe of ſuch cannon, and through a like ignorance, the Greeks might be terrified at the appearance of them.

In the beginning of May the Turks began to make ſeveral aſſaults upon that city, which thought itſelf the capital of the world. Conſtantinople was then very weakly fortified, and not better defended. The emperor, in conjunction with a cardinal of Rome, named Iſidore, performed his devotions according to the Romiſh ritual, which at once exaſperated and diſcouraged his Greek ſubjects, who would not ſo much as enter the churches which he frequented, declaring, "They had rather ſee a Turkiſh turbant in their churches than a cardinal's hat."

In former times almoſt all the princes of Chriſtendom, under pretence of an holy war, had joined together to invade this metropolis and bulwark of the Chriſtian world, and now that it was attacked by the enemies to the faith, not one ſtirred in its defence.

The emperor Frederick III. was neither ſufficiently enterpriſing nor powerful to attempt any thing for its relief. Poland was under too bad an adminiſtration. France was but juſt recovered from the miſerable ſtate to which ſhe had been reduced by her wars at home, and thoſe ſhe had been engaged in againſt the Engliſh. England began to be divided and weak. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was indeed a powerful prince, but he had too much underſtanding to revive the cruſades alone, and was too old to bear a ſhare in ſuch enterpriſes. The Italian princes were engaged in war with each other. The kingdoms of Arragon and Caſtile

Caſtile were not yet united, and a great part of Spain was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Moors.

In ſhort, there were but two ſovereigns in Europe capable of encountering Mahomet II. Theſe were John Huniades, prince of Tranſilvania, who could hardly defend his own territories; and the famous Scanderbeg, who had enough to do to keep poſſeſſion of the mountains of Epirus, like Pelagius Tudomer, heretofore in thoſe of Aſturias, when the Moors over-run Spain *. Four Genoeſe ſhips, of which one belonged to the emperor Frederick III. were almoſt all the ſuccours the Chriſtian world could at that time afford Conſtantinople. This unfortunate city was commanded by a foreigner, whoſe name was Juſtiniani, a native of Genoa. An edifice reduced to ſuch props muſt infallibly fall to ruin. The ancient Greeks never had a Perſian for a chief, nor was the Roman republic ever headed by a Gaul. Conſtantinople therefore muſt neceſſarily be taken, and it was ſo; but in a manner entirely different from that we find related in all our authors, who have copied after Ducas, and Calcondilus.

The Turkiſh annals, collected and digeſted by the late prince Demetrius Cantemir at Conſtantinople, inform us, that, after having ſuſtained a ſiege of ſeven weeks, the emperor Conſtantine was at length obliged to capitulate; and that he ſent Greek deputies to receive the laws the conqueror ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon them. Several articles were agreed

* See Chap. xviii. Vol. I.

upon at this meeting: but, as the Greek envoys were returning back to the city, Mahomet, who had ſomething farther to ſay to them, diſpatched a body of men to bring them back to his camp. The beſieged, who from the walls beheld a large troop of armed Turks in full purſuit, as they thought, of their deputies, imprudently fired upon them. This party was inſtantly joined by a much greater number. The envoys got into the city by one of the poſterns, and the Turks entered pell-mell with them, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of the upper town, which is ſeparated from the lower. The emperor Conſtantine was killed in the crowd; and Mahomet thereupon turned the imperial palace into a palace for himſelf, and made the cathedral church of St. Sophia a Turkiſh moſque.

Being thus maſter, by right of conqueſt, of one half of Conſtantinople, he had the humanity or policy to offer the ſame terms of capitulation to that part which ſtill held out as he had propoſed to grant to the whole city; and religiouſly obſerved his agreement. This fact is ſo true, that all the Chriſtian churches of the lower town remained till the reign of his grandſon Selim, who ordered ſeveral of them to be demoliſhed. The Turks called them the moſques of Iſſevi, Iſſevi being the Turkiſh name for Jeſus. The church of the Greek patriarch is ſtill remaining in Conſtantinople, on the canal of the Black Sea: and the Ottoman emperors have permitted an academy to be founded in that quarter of the city where the modern Greeks teach the ancient language, now almoſt entirely diſuſed, the Ariſtotelian philoſophy,

philoſophy, divinity, and phyſick: and in this ſchool were educated Conſtantine Ducas, Mauro Cordato, and Demetrius Cantemir, afterwards made princes of Tranſilvania by the Turks. I muſt acknowledge that Demetrius Cantemir abounds with a great number of old fabulous ſtories; but he could not be deceived in relation to the modern monuments which were before his eyes, nor the academy in which he himſelf was brought up.

The Chriſtians are ſtill indulged with a church and one ſtreet in the city to themſelves, in conſideration of a Greek architect named Chriſtobulus, whom Mahomet II. employed to build a new moſque upon the ruins of the holy apoſtles, an ancient edifice built by the empreſs Theodora, wife to the emperor Juſtinian. This architect ſucceeded ſo well that his building proved little inferior in beauty to the famous moſque of St. Sophia. He was alſo employed by the ſultan's orders in building eight public ſchools, and the ſame number of hoſpitals, all belonging to this moſque; and, as a reward for his ſervices, the ſultan granted him the ſtreet juſt mentioned, which ſtill remains in the poſſeſſion of his family. It may not perhaps appear a fact worthy a place in hiſtory, that an architect was rewarded with the grant of a ſtreet; but it is of ſome importance to know that the Turks do not always behave in that cruel and brutal manner to Chriſtians which we are apt to imagine they do. Whole nations have been miſled by the errors of hiſtorians: a number of Oriental writers have aſſerted that the Turks adored Venus, and denied the providence of a God. Grotius him-

ſelf tells us after others, that Mahomet, the great falſe prophet of the Turks, had trained up a pigeon to fly to his ear, and made the people believe that it was the ſpirit of God who came to inſtruct him under that form. And we find as many ridiculous ſtories related concerning the great conqueror Mahomet II.

One evident proof that Mahomet was a prince of more knowledge and policy than he is uſually ſuppoſed to have been, and notwithſtanding all that cardinal Iſidore and others may ſay to the contrary, is, that he allowed the conquered Chriſtians the liberty of chuſing their own patriarch; he even performed the ceremony of inſtallation himſelf, with the uſual ſolemnities, and inveſted him with the croſier and ring, which the emperors of the Weſt had not dared to do for a long time, and departed in no one point from the accuſtomed ceremony, unleſs it was in conducting the patriarch elect, Gennadius, to the gate of his palace, who told the ſultan on this occaſion, "That he was confounded at receiving an honour which no one of the Chriſtian emperors had ever beſtowed upon his predeceſſors." Since that time the Ottoman emperors have always made one patriarch, who is called the oecumenical patriarch, and the pope another, who is called the Latin patriarch. Each of theſe patriarchs is taxed by the divan in a certain ſum, which he pays as a ranſom for his flock. The two churches, tho' groaning alike under the yoke of bondage, are ſtill at irreconcileable enmity with each other; and the ſultans are frequently obliged to interpoſe their authority, in order to put an end to

their

their diſputes; thus becoming the moderators, as well as conquerors of the Chriſtians.

But the Turkiſh victors have not acted with regard to the Greeks as they did in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the Arabians, whoſe language, religion, and cuſtoms they adopted, after having conquered them. When the Turks ſubdued the Arabians, they were at that time utterly barbarous; but when they made the conqueſt of the Greek empire, the conſtitution of their government had been long formed. Beſides, they had a veneration for the Arabians, but they deſpiſed the Greeks, and never had any other intercourſe with them than that of maſters with their ſlaves, and ſtill preſerved the ſame cuſtoms and laws as at the time of their conqueſt. The body of Yenghi-Cheris*, or Janiſſaries, was kept up in full vigour, to the number of forty-five thouſand. The ſoldiers of no nation whatever have ſuch ample allowance as theſe Janiſſaries: each oda, or captain, has always a purveyor who ſupplies his troops with mutton, rice, butter, pulſe, and bread in great plenty.

The Turkiſh ſultans have continued in Europe the ancient cuſtoms they practiſed in Aſia, that of rewarding their ſoldiers with fiefs for life, and ſome of them hereditary. They did not derive this cuſtom from the Arabian caliphs, whom they conquered; the Arabian government being founded upon different principles. But it was always the cuſtom of the weſtern Tartars to divide the lands of the conquered, and this inſtitution they eſtabliſhed in Europe

* See note on page 76, 77.

as early as the fifth century, an inſtitution which neceſſarily attaches the conquerors to a country which is become their inheritance; and thoſe nations who mixed with them, ſuch as the Lombards, the Franks, and the Ottomans, followed the ſame plan. Tamerlane carried this cuſtom with him into the Indies, where we ſtill find ſeveral very powerful lords of fiefs, under the titles of Omras, Rajas, and Nabobs. But the Ottomans gave only ſmall portions of lands to their ſoldiery, and their zaimats and timariots are rather farms than lordſhips. This is a truly warlike inſtitution; for if a zaim dies in the field, his children ſhare his fief between them; but if he dies at home, the beglerbeg, that is the captain-general of the province, has a right of diſpoſing of this military benefice. And theſe zaims and timars, like our ancient Franks, claim no privileges of title, juriſdiction, or nobility, but only according to the number of ſoldiers they furniſh or bring into the field.

From the ſame military ſchool they take all their cadi's and molla's, who are the common judges, as likewiſe the two cadi-leſkers of Europe and Aſia, who are judges of the provinces and armies, and who, under the mufti, have the care of the religion and laws. The mufti and the cadi-leſkers have always been alike ſubject to the divan. The derviſes, a kind of mendicant monks among the Turks, though grown more numerous of late, ſtill preſerve their ancient form. The cuſtom of building caravanſeras for the convenience of travellers, and ſchools and hoſpitals near all the moſques, ſtill ſubſiſts. In a word, the Turks are in

all

all things the ſame people they were, not only when they took Conſtantinople, but at their firſt coming into Europe.

CHAP. LXXIX.

The PROGRESS of the TURKS.

DURING a reign of thirty-one years, Mahomet II. proceeded from conqueſt to conqueſt, without any of the princes of Europe joining in league againſt him, for we cannot give the name of league to the ſhort alliance entered into between John Huniades, prince of Tranſilvania, the king of Hungary, and a deſpot of Black Ruſſia. This famous warrior Huniades gave proofs, that had he been better ſupported, the Chriſtians would never have loſt all thoſe territories which the Turks are now poſſeſſed of in Europe. Three years after the taking of Conſtantinople, he obliged Mahomet II. to raiſe the ſiege of Belgrade.

At the ſame time alſo the Perſians fell upon the Turks, and turned back that torrent which threatned to overflow all Chriſtendom. Uſſum Can, ſirnamed the White Ram, a deſcendant of Tamerlane, and governor of Armenia, had lately ſubdued Perſia; he now entered into alliance with the Chriſtians, and this firſt gave them the hint of uniting together againſt the common enemy: he married the daughter of David Comnenus, emperor of Trebiſond. It was held unlawful for Chriſtians to marry their godmother or their couſin; but we ſee that in Greece,

Greece, Spain, and Aſia, they made no ſcruple of marrying with thoſe of a contrary faith.

The Tartar Uſſum-Can now become ſon-in-law to the Chriſtian Emperor Comnenus, attacked Mahomet near the Euphrates. This ſo favourable opportunity for the Chriſtians was again neglected, and they ſuffered Mahomet, after various ſucceſſes, to make peace with the Perſian, and afterwards to become maſter of Trebiſond, with a part of Cappadocia annexed to it; to turn his arms upon Greece, and take Negropont; then to march back towards the Black Sea and ſeize upon Caffa, the ancient Theodoſia, rebuilt by the Genoeſe; and afterwards to reduce Scutari, Zant, Cephalonia, and even to puſh his conqueſts as far as Trieſte in the port of Venice, till at length he fixed the ſeat of the Mahometan power in the midſt of Calabria, from whence he threatned all Italy, and where his lieutenants remained till ſome time after his death. Rhodes indeed eſcaped his arms, but the not taking this ſmall iſland did not make him leſs formidable to the reſt of the Weſt.

He had for a long time conquered Epirus, after the death of Scanderbeg. The Venetians had the courage to oppoſe his arms, for at this time their power was in its zenith; they had pretty extenſive territories upon Terra Firma, their fleets braved thoſe of Mahomet, and they even made themſelves maſters of Athens; but at length this republic, for want of being properly aſſiſted, was obliged to give way, reſtore Athens, and purchaſe by annual tribute the liberty of trading in the Black Sea, hoping to recover her loſſes by that commerce which had laid the firſt foun-

foundation of her grandeur; but we ſhall ſee that not long after ſhe ſuſtained more injury from pope Julius II. and almoſt every one of the Chriſtian princes, than ſhe had done by all the power of the Ottoman arms.

In the mean time Mahomet II. turned his victorious arms againſt the Mammeluc ſultans of Egypt, while his lieutenants were employed in Naples: at length he flattered himſelf with making the conqueſt of Rome, as he had done that of Conſtantinople; and being told one day of the ceremony with which the doge of Venice once a-year eſpouſes the Adriatic Ocean, he made anſwer, that "He would quickly ſend him to the bottom of that ſea, to conſummate his nuptials." However, a violent fit of the cholic delivered the world from him at the age of fifty-one. But the Ottomans 1481 have nevertheleſs remained in poſſeſſion of a far more beautiful country in Europe than even the whole of Italy, and the birth-place of Leonidas, Miltiades, Alexander, Sophocles, and Plato ſunk beneath a barbarous yoke. From that time the Greek language became corrupted, and there remained hardly any traces of the arts; for notwithſtanding there was a Greek academy at Conſtantinople, it was certainly very different from that of Athens, and not the ſix thouſand monks which the Ottoman ſultans permit to live upon mount Athos, have yet been able to revive the liberal arts in this empire. Formerly this very city of Conſtantinople was under the protection of Athens, and the province of Chalcedonia was tributary to it; and the king of Thrace ſued for the honour of being admitted

as one of its citizens. At preſent the deſcendants of the old Tartars are maſters of theſe beautiful regions, and the name of Greece is become in a manner extinct. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall always hold the little city of Athens in higher veneration than the Turkiſh power, was it to ſpread over the whole earth.

The Greeks remained in a ſtate of oppreſſion, but not of ſlavery; they were left the exerciſe of their religion and laws, and the Turks behaved to them as the Arabians had done to the people of Spain. The Greek families ſtill continue to live peaceably in their native country, though in obſcurity and contempt; they pay but a ſlight tribute, and employ themſelves in trade and agriculture; their towns and villages ſtill continue to have their Protogeros, who decides their differences, and their patriarch is ſupported in an honourable manner by them. He muſt certainly have a conſiderable revenue, ſince upon his inſtallation he is obliged to pay four thouſand ducats into the ſultan's treaſury, and the like ſum to the officers of the Porte.

The greateſt mark of ſubjection the Greeks labour under, is, that of being obliged to furniſh the ſultans with a number of children to ſerve in their ſeraglios, or in their Janiſſary militia. Every father of a family is obliged to give one of his ſons, or purchaſe his freedom with a fine. There are ſtill certain Chriſtian provinces in Europe, where it is become an eſtabliſhed cuſtom to ſet apart one of their children from the birth, to carry arms. The children given to the Turkiſh ſultans are brought up in the ſeraglio, where they frequently make very great fortunes. Nor is their condition among

among the Janiſſaries to be deſpiſed. It is a ſtrong proof of the force of education, and the extraordinary changes in this world, that moſt of theſe haughty enemies to the Chriſtian name, were born of oppreſſed Chriſtians; and a ſtill more lively proof of that invincible fatality by which the Supreme Being links together all the events of the univerſe, is, that the emperor Conſtantine ſhould have built Conſtantinople for the Turks, as Romulus had ſo many ages before laid the foundation of the capitol for the heads of the Chriſtian church.

And here I think myſelf obliged to refute one falſe notion, namely, that the Turkiſh government is of that abſurd form called deſpotic; that the people are all ſlaves to their ſultans; that they have no property of their own, but are in their lives and fortunes wholly at the mercy of their maſters. Such an adminiſtration muſt neceſſarily deſtroy itſelf. It would be very extraordinary that the conquered Greeks ſhould not be ſlaves, and that their conquerors ſhould. Some travellers have ſuppoſed that a ſultan was lord of all the lands in his empire, becauſe he diſpoſed of certain timariots (or eſtates for life) as the kings of France formerly beſtowed military fiefs; but theſe gentlemen ſhould conſider, that there are laws of inheritance in Turky as well as in all other countries*.

It is true, that all the moveable effects belonging to a pacha at the time of his demiſe, fall to the ſultan, who uſually gives a part of them to his family; but it was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in Europe at the time when fiefs were

* We wiſh the author had explained theſe laws.

not

not hereditary, and long after, for biſhops to inherit the moveables of the inferior clergy; and the popes claimed the ſame right on the eſtates of cardinals, and all others poſſeſſed of church livings, who died within the reſidence of the chief pontiff.

The Turks are not only all of them free †, but they have not even the diſtinction of nobility amongſt them, and are ſtrangers to any other ſuperiority than that of employs in the ſtate.

They are in their manners at once fierce, haughty, and effeminate; their ferocity they derive from their anceſtors the Scythians, and their effeminacy from Greece and Aſia. Their pride is beyond all bounds. They are conquerors and they are ignorant; this makes them deſpiſe all other nations.

The form of the Ottoman government is not like that of France and Spain, monarchical and gently authoritative; it ſtill leſs reſembles that of Germany, which in length of time is become a republic of princes and cities, under one ſupreme head called an emperor. It has nothing of the Poliſh form of adminiſtration, where the peaſants are all ſlaves, and the nobles kings. Laſtly, it is as different from that of England in its conſtitution as in its climate.

And yet we are not to imagine that it is altogether an arbitrary government, where the law permits a ſingle perſon to ſacrifice the lives of thouſands to his caprice, like ſo many beaſts kept in a park for his diverſion.

† In what ſenſe can a man be ſaid to be free, whoſe life and property lie at the mercy of a rapacious baſhaw and a deſpotic ſovereign?

We

We are apt, through prejudice, to believe that a chiaoux may go with a ſtaff in his hand, and demand, in the name of the ſultan, of the maſter of a family, all the money he has by him, and his daughters, for the uſe of his maſter. There are doubtleſs ſeveral horrible abuſes in the Turkiſh adminiſtration: but in general theſe abuſes are much leſs fatal to the people than to thoſe who have a ſhare in the government; for theſe chiefly feel the weight of the deſpotic authority. The private ſentence of a divan is ſufficient to ſtrike off the heads of the greateſt officers of ſtate upon the moſt trifling ſuſpicions, their being no ſupreme court eſtabliſhed in this country to enforce a reſpect for the laws and the perſon of the anointed ſovereign; no barrier oppoſed in the conſtitution of the ſtate to the injuſtice or male-adminiſtration of a vizier; therefore few reſources for the ſubject when oppreſſed, or the monarch when reſiſted; and this prince, who paſſes for the moſt powerful in the world, is of all others the leaſt firmly ſettled on his throne; the revolution of a ſingle day is frequently ſufficient to ſnatch the crown from him; and in this the Turks have imitated the manners of the Greek empire which they conquered, only they have more reſpect for the Ottoman family than the Greeks had for that of their emperors; they depoſe, they murder their ſultan, but it is always in favour of the neareſt relation: the Greek empire, on the contrary, has paſſed by aſſaſſinations into twenty different families.

The fear of being depoſed is a ſtronger curb upon the Turkiſh ſultan, than all the laws of the alcoran; and, though abſolute maſter in his

his own ſeraglio, and of the lives of all his officers by means of the mufti's fetfa, he cannot alter the cuſtoms of the empire, he cannot encreaſe the taxes, nor can he touch the public money *; he has his private treaſury entirely diſtinct and apart from the public one.

The condition of ſultan is, in general, the moſt indolent upon earth, as that of grand-vizier is the moſt laborious. This miniſter is obliged to act at the ſame time as conſtable, chancellor, and chief-preſident, and the reward for all his labours is frequently exile or the bowſtring.

The office of baſhaw is altogether as dangerous, and many of them are known to have ended their days by a violent death. But all this only proves that the people in Turky had contracted a habit of cruelty and fierceneſs, the ſame as prevailed for a conſiderable time among the Chriſtians themſelves throughout Europe, when ſo many heads were loſt upon the ſcaffold, when La Broſſe, the favourite of St. Lewis, was hanged; when the prime miniſter, Laguette, died upon the rack in the reign of Charles the Fair; when Charles de la Cerda, conſtable of France, was put to death by king John without form of trial; when Angueran de Marigni was hanged upon the ſame gallows, which he himſelf had ordered to be erected at Montfaucon; and the dead body of the prime miniſter, Montaigu,

* Is not this childiſh cavilling? Who are the perſons that raiſe taxes, touch the money, &c.? who but his divan, his vizier, and his teſterdar, miſerable ſlaves that depend upon the breath of his noſtrils; ſlaves whom he every day orders to be ſtrangled, according to his convenience or caprice; and no ſubject dares to murmur at their fate.

was

was carried and hung upon the ſame gibbet; in a word, when the grand maſter of the knights templars expired in the midſt of the flames, and numberleſs cruelties of the ſame kind were common in monarchial governments. We ſhould greatly deceive ourſelves then if we were to ſuppoſe that theſe barbarities were the effects of abſolute power. There never was any one of the Chriſtian potentates deſpotic, nor is the grand ſeignor ſo. Several ſultans, as Mahomet II. Selim, and Solyman, have indeed made the laws give way to their wills. But how few conquerors meet with contradiction from their ſubjects. In a word, our hiſtorians have groſly impoſed upon us in repreſenting the Ottoman empire as a government whoſe eſſence is deſpotiſm †.

The count de Marſigli, who knows more of the matter than any of them, expreſſes himſelf thus: "In almoſt all our hiſtories we find the authority exerciſed by ſultans, repreſented as highly deſpotic; but how diſtant is this from the truth ‡!" The Janiſſary militia, adds he, which they call Capiculi, and which always reſides in Conſtantinople, has by its laws the

† If any government can be eſſentially deſpotic it muſt be that of Turky, where the ſovereign is reſtricted by no engagement: where the *Vox Tyranni* is the *ſuprema lex*: where there is neither family, diſtinction, order, nor inſtitution, to queſtion or curb the prerogative; where every ſubject is trained up to the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; and even the baſhaw taught to kiſs the bowſtring by which he is ſtrangled, without preſuming to enquire into the nature of his offence.

‡ *In tutte le noſtre ſtorie ſentiamo eſaltar la ſovranità, che coſì deſpoticamente praticaſi dal ſultano: ma quanto ſi ſcoſtano elle dal vero!*

power

power of impriſoning the ſultan, and even of putting him to death, and appointing a ſucceſſor in his room *. A little further he ſays that the grand ſeignor is frequently obliged to conſult the political and military part of the ſtate before he can make war or peace.

Neither are the baſhaws ſo abſolute in their provinces as we in general believe, but depend upon their divan. The chief citizens have a right to complain of their conduct, and preſent their remonſtrances to the great divan of Conſtantinople. In fine, Marſigli concludes by giving the Turkiſh government the title of a democracy. It is ſuch in fact, and much reſembling that of Tunis and Algiers ‡. Theſe mighty

* We would aſk from whence they derive this privilege; for we have already ſeen how this body was inſtituted in the reign of Amurath? did he at that period give them a power to impriſon and dethrone himſelf? the ſuppoſition is abſurd. The liberty which the Janiſſaries have taken more than once to dethrone and murder their prince, is no more founded on law, than is the action of a ruffian who robs and murders his maſter. They do it at the hazard of being ſacrificed by the next ſultan; and the ſtreets of Conſtantinople have been often filled with the carcaſes of thoſe inſolent ſoldiers, who have been privately ſtrangled in the night by order of the grand ſeignor.

‡ The reſemblance here we cannot at all perceive, except that the government of Algier is Turkiſh. The ſucceſſion at Conſtantinople is hereditary, and was never known to deviate from one family. The deyſhip of Algier is elective from the number of ten thouſand. If the grand ſeignor has the precaution to murder all the males of his family, a piece of policy often practiſed at the Ottoman court, he runs no riſk at all of being depoſed, becauſe there would not be a perſon in Turky to fill up his room; and the empire would of courſe be involved in anarchy and ruin. If a dey of Algiers is murdered, there are nine thouſand nine hundred

mighty ſultans then, whom the common people dare not look upon, and whoſe perſons are not to be approached but with a ſubmiſſion which ſeems to border upon adoration; theſe ſultans, I ſay, have only the exterior of deſpotiſm, and are really abſolute no longer than they can ſafely exerciſe that fury of arbitrary power which ſeems born with all men. Lewis XI. Henry VIII. and Sextus V. were as deſpotic princes as any ſultan whatever.

If we were to go on to examine in the ſame manner into the ſecrets of the ſovereign authority in the other kingdoms of Aſia, which are ſtill in a manner unknown to us, we ſhould find much leſs deſpotiſm in the world than we in general imagine. Even in Europe, we have ſeen princes the vaſſals of other princes not abſolute, aſſume a greater degree of arbitrary power in their own dominions than was ever exerciſed by the emperors of Perſia or India: and yet it would be very erroneous to ſuppoſe, that the dominions of ſuch princes were by their conſtitution eſſentially deſpotic.

All the hiſtories of modern nations, excepting perhaps thoſe of England and Germany, have given us falſe notions of things; becauſe they have rarely diſtinguiſhed between times and perſons, abuſes and laws, accidental events and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms.

We ſhould again be deceived, if we were to look upon the Turkiſh government as an uniform adminiſtration, and that, every day the

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hundred and ninety nine candidates for his office, and each of theſe is capable of being choſen. The grand ſeignor is a deſpotic emperor; the dey of Algiers a limited magiſtrate.

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ſultan can, from his ſeraglio by his couriers, diſpatch the ſame orders to all the different provinces in his dominions. This vaſt empire, which has been formed at different times, and by ſucceſſive victories, and which we ſhall find continually encreaſing till the eighteenth century, is compoſed of a thouſand different nations, all of them different in language, religion, and cuſtoms. They are Greeks from the antient Ionia, the coaſts of Aſia Minor and Achaia, inhabitants of the ancient Colchis, and of the Taurica Cherſoneſus; they are Getæ become Chriſtians, known by the names of Walachians and Moldavians; they are Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Illyrians, and Jews; laſtly, they are Egyptians, and the deſcendants from the people of ancient Carthage, whom we ſhall preſently ſee ſwallowed up by the Ottoman power. And all theſe different nations have been conquered and kept in ſubjection by the Turkiſh militia alone. They are all governed differently; ſome have princes ſet over them, who are nominated by the porte; ſuch as Walachia, Moldavia, and Crimea. The Greeks live under a municipal government, dependant upon a baſhaw. The number of the conquered is immenſe, if compared with that of the victors; for there are but very few natural born Turks: none of theſe follow agriculture, and a very inconſiderable number apply themſelves to the arts. It may be ſaid of them, as Virgil heretofore ſaid of the Romans, "Their art is to conquer and command." The chief difference between the Turkiſh and the antient Roman conquerors is, that Rome incorporated all the nations ſhe conquered, whereas the Turks al-

ways keep themſelves ſeparate from thoſe they have ſubdued, and in the midſt of whom they live.

There remained indeed three hundred thouſand Greeks in Conſtantinople, after that city was taken; but theſe were only artificers or tradeſmen who worked for their new maſters, a people wholly under ſubjection in their own capital, and not permitted even to dreſs like the Turks.

To this obſervation let me add another, namely, that this vaſt tract of country, from the Archipelago to the Euphrates was conquered by one ſingle power; whereas, the united powers of twenty potentates in the cruſades, with more than twenty times the number of forces, were not able, after the labours of two whole centuries, to eſtabliſh one laſting ſtate in theſe ſame countries.

Ricault, who reſided a conſiderable time in Turky, attributes the laſting power of the Ottoman empire, "To ſomething ſupernatural." He cannot otherwiſe conceive that this government, which depends ſo frequently upon the caprice of the Janiſſaries, could have ſupported itſelf againſt the turbulency of its own ſoldiers and the attacks of its enemies. But to this we may reply, that the Roman empire ſupported itſelf five hundred years in Rome, and near fourteen centuries in the Levant, in the midſt of ſeditions and tumults; and though the imperial ſucceſſion has been frequently changed, the throne has ſtill remained the ſame. Now the Turks have a veneration for the Ottoman race, which is to them a fundamental law that

they can never think of violating: the government has been frequently wreſted out of the hands of the ſultan; but, as we have already remarked, it never paſſes into a ſtrange family. The conſtitution itſelf then has nothing to fear, though the monarch and his viziers are frequently made to tremble.

Hitherto this empire has defied all foreign invaſions. The Perſians have rarely penetrated into the Turkiſh frontiers: on the contrary, we ſhall ſee ſultan Amurath IV. taking Bagdat from the Perſians by aſſault, in 1638, remaining ſtill maſter of Meſopotamia, and at the ſame time aſſiſting the grand mogul with one army againſt the Perſians, and at the ſame time threatning Venice with another. The Germans never yet ſhewed themſelves at the gates of Conſtantinople, as the Turks have at thoſe of Vienna: and it is only ſince the reign of Peter the Great that the Ruſſians became formidable to Turky. In fine, force and cruelty firſt eſtabliſhed the Ottoman empire, and the diviſions of Chriſtians have helped to ſupport it. There is nothing in all this but what is natural. We ſhall ſee how this empire augmented its power, and perſevered for a long time in its ferocity of manners, which at length begin to grow ſomewhat milder.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXX.

Of LEWIS XI. king of FRANCE.

WHEN the authority of Charles VII. began to be eſtabliſhed in France by the expulſion of the Engliſh, the annexing of a number of provinces to the crown, and the perpetual ſubſidies granted him, the feudal government was ſoon extinguiſhed in that kingdom.

From the contrary reaſon the feudal order was ſtrengthened in Germany, the emperors being elective, and as ſuch deſtitute of either provinces or ſupplies. Italy was ſtill divided into independent republics and principalities; abſolute power was wholly unknown in Spain, and in the North; and England, in the midſt of her diviſions, began to lay the foundation of that extraordinary government, which through the moſt violent and bloody oppoſitions, has in a courſe of ages produced that happy mixture of liberty and royalty which is the admiration of all nations.

There were at this time in France only the two great fiefs of Burgundy and Brittany; but theſe by their great power were entirely independent; and, notwithſtanding the feudal laws, they were never conſidered by the other powers of Europe as making any part of the kingdom of France: and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, expreſly ſtipulated with Charles VII. at the time that he forgave him the murder of his father, duke John, that he was not to do him homage for his dukedom.

The princes of the blood in France had appennages in peerage, but ſubject to the juriſdiction of the high court of parliament. The lords, though ſtill poſſeſſed of great privileges in their own territories, had not as formerly any power in the ſtate; and there was only the count of Foix on the other ſide the Loire who had the title of "Prince by the grace of God," with a privilege of coining money; but the lords of fiefs, and the corporations of large cities had immenſe privileges.

Lewis XI. ſon to Charles VII. became the firſt abſolute king in Europe, after the decline of the Charlemagne family; and he did not arrive at the peaceable enjoyment of this power, till after many violent ſtruggles. His life is one great contraſt, and it is certainly meant, to humble and confound virtue that he has been cried up for a great king: he whom all hiſtorians paint as a moſt unnatural ſon, a barbarous brother, a bad father, and a perfidious neighbour! he embittered the laſt years of his father's life; nay he was the cauſe of his death; for every one knows that the unhappy Charles VII. died thro' fear that his ſon ſhould put him to death: that is to ſay, he choſe to abſtain from all food, rather than run the riſk of ſwallowing the poiſon that he apprehended his ſon intended for him. Such an apprehenſion in a parent is alone ſufficient to prove that he deemed his ſon capable of the crime.

Upon a careful review of the whole conduct of Lewis XI. may we not repreſent him to ourſelves as a man who frequently ſtrove to diſguiſe inſolence by low artifice, and uphold treachery by cruelty? How came it to paſs elſe, that

that in the very beginning of his reign, ſo many of the great noblemen who had been in his father's intereſt, and eſpecially the famous count de Dunois, whoſe ſword had ſo often kept the crown on his head, combined againſt him in the "League for the public good?" They did not take advantage of the weakneſs of the royal authority, as had ſo frequently been done before: but Lewis had abuſed his power. It is plain that the father, made wiſe by his faults and his misfortunes, governed very well; and that his ſon, intoxicated with power, began his government very badly.

This league put him in danger of his crown and life. The battle of Montleri decided little or nothing in his favour; 1465
and he had no other way left to break the league than by granting each of the confederates what he pleaſed to demand: ſo that his very dexterity in this affair was a proof of his weakneſs.

Without the leaſt reaſon he made himſelf an irreconcileable enemy in Charles duke of Burgundy, ſon to Philip the Good, at that time maſter of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Flanders, Artois, many towns on the Somme, and Holland, by ſtirring up the people of Liege to an act of perfidy againſt the duke, and afterwards to take up arms againſt him. At the ſame time he put himſelf into his hands at Peronne, thinking by that behaviour to deceive him the more effectually. Could there be worſe policy! He was defeated, and ſaw himſelf a priſoner
in the caſtle of Peronne, and obliged to 1468
march after his vaſſal againſt theſe very people

whom he had ſtirred up to revolt. Could there be a greater humiliation!

He feared his brother the duke of Berri, and this prince was poiſoned by a Benedictine monk, his confeſſor, whoſe name was Favre Veſois. This is not one of thoſe doubtful acts taken upon truſt by the malice or envy of mankind.

1472 The duke of Berri was at ſupper with the lady of Montſorau, his miſtreſs, and this confeſſor; the latter ordered a fiſh of an extraordinary ſize to be ſerved up at table. The lady expired immediately upon eating of it, and the prince died ſome time after in the moſt excruciating convulſions.

Odet Daidie, a brave nobleman, determined to revenge the death of the duke, to whom he had been particularly attached, conveyed the murderer into Brittany, where being out of Lewis's power, he was fairly tried; but on the day that he was to receive his ſentence he was found dead in his bed. Lewis, to quiet the public clamour, ordered the papers relating to the tryal to be ſent him, and appointed commiſſioners to examine into the truth of the accuſation. After ſeveral deliberations, they reſolved upon nothing, and the king loaded them with favours. It was not in the leaſt doubted in Europe that Lewis was guilty of this murder, who when dauphin had put his own father Charles VII. in fear of his life. Hiſtory ought not to accuſe him of this crime without proof; but it may lament that he gave reaſon for the ſuſpicion, and ought eſpecially to remark, that every prince who is guilty of an avowed crime, is likewiſe guilty of all the raſh judgments which may be made of his actions.

Such

Such was the conduct of Lewis XI. with reſpect to his vaſſals and his relations. Let us now ſee what it was to his neighbours. Edward IV. king of England, makes a deſcent in France, in hopes to recover ſome part of his predeceſſors conqueſts. Lewis was in a condition to give him battle, but he choſe rather to become his tributary. He 1475 gained over ſome of the chief officers in the Engliſh army, and made preſents of wine to all the common ſoldiers. In fine, he purchaſed the retreat of this army by his liberalities. Would it not have been more worthy a king of France to have employed this money in putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence, than in bribing an enemy whom he feared, and whom he ought not to have feared?

Noble minds boldly chuſe their favourites from perſons of illuſtrious birth, and their miniſters from thoſe of approved capacity; but Lewis's confidents and miniſter, were born among the dregs of the people, and their ſentiments were ſtill meaner than their birth.

Few tyrants ever put a greater number of citizens to death by the hands of the executioner, or under more ſtudied torments than this prince: the chronicles of thoſe times reckon no leſs than four thouſand public and private executions in the courſe of his reign; and the only monuments he has left behind him are the dungeons, iron cages, and inſtruments of torture with which he harraſſed his wretched ſubjects, and which poſterity looks upon with terror.

It is ſurpriſing that father Daniel hardly mentions the puniſhment inflicted on James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the known deſ-

1477 cendant of king Clovis. The circumſtances and manner of his death, the diſtribution of his eſtate, and the confinement of his young children during the life-time of Lewis XI. are melancholy and intereſting objects of curioſity.

We do not exactly know the nature of this prince's crime: he was tried by commiſſioners, which gives room to imagine that he was not really culpable. Some hiſtorians idly impute to him the deſign of ſeizing the king's perſon and killing the dauphin. But ſuch an accuſation is hardly to be credited; for how could a petty prince, who had taken refuge at the foot of the Pyrenees, think of ſeizing Lewis XI. in a time of profound peace, and when that monarch was at the zenith of his power, and in full exerciſe of abſolute authority in his kingdom! The notion of killing the dauphin, who was then an infant, and preſerving the father, is another of thoſe extravagant projects which could never have entered into the mind of a ſtateſman. All that we can find well atteſted in relation to this affair is, that Lewis had the utmoſt hatred to the Armagnac family; that he cauſed the duke of Nemours to be ſeized at Carlat in 1477; that he confined him in an iron cage in the Baſtile; and that, having drawn up the articles of his impeachment with his own hand, he ſent judges to try him, among whom was that famous traitor, Philip de Comines, who having long ſold the ſecrets of the houſe of Burgundy to the king, engaged afterwards openly in the French ſervice, and whoſe memoirs are ſtill in great eſteem, though written with all the caution of a courtier who was afraid

afraid of declaring the truth, even when Lewis was no more.

The king ordered the duke of Nemours to be examined in his iron cage, after which he was put to the torture, and received ſentence of death. He was then led to confeſſion in a hall hung with black: confeſſion began at that time to be conſidered as a favour granted to condemned criminals; and mourning hangings were only uſed for princes. It was in this manner that Conradin had been formerly executed at Naples, and that Mary Stuart of Scotland was afterwards treated in England.

But here Lewis XI. put in practice a thing hitherto unknown in any country: he cauſed the duke's young children to be placed under the ſcaffold erected for their father's execution, that they might receive his blood upon them, with which they went away all covered; and in this condition were conducted to the Baſtile in wooden cages, made in the form of horſe-panniers, where the confinement their bodies ſuffered, put them to perpetual torture. In ſhort, the unheard-of torments theſe unhappy princes ſuffered would be incredible, were they not well atteſted by the petition which they preſented to the eſtates in 1483, after the death of Lewis XI.

Never was honour and integrity leſs regarded than under this reign. The judges themſelves were not aſhamed to divide amongſt them the poſſeſſion of thoſe whom they condemned.

Amidſt the barbarity and ferocity of manners which diſtinguiſhed the times preceding theſe, ſome heroic actions now and then broke forth. The reign of Charles VII. had its Dunois, its

La Trimouille, its Cliſſon, its Richemont, its Saintraille, its La Hire, and many magiſtrates of approved merit: but during the reign of Lewis XI. there appeared not one great man. He had utterly debaſed the whole nation: all virtue was become extinct, and ſervile obedience was the only merit, till at length the people grew eaſy under their burthen, like wretches condemned to the galleys for life.

But with all this cruelty and craft Lewis had two predominant paſſions, which one would imagine ſhould have humanized his manners; theſe were love and devotion. He had miſtreſſes, he had baſtards, and he performed pilgrimages; but his love was of a piece with the reſt of his character; and his devotion was only the ſuperſtitious fear of a timorous and bewildered mind. He always went covered with relicts, and conſtantly wore a leaden figure of the Virgin Mary in his hat, of which it is ſaid he uſed to aſk pardon for his murders before he committed them. He made a deed of the earldom of Bologne to the Holy Virgin. True piety does not conſiſt in making the Virgin Mary a counteſs, but in refraining from thoſe actions which our conſciences condemn, and which God ſeldom fails to puniſh.

He introduced the Italian cuſtom of ringing a bell at twelve o'clock at noon, when every one was to ſay an *Ave Maria*. He aſked permiſſion of the pope to wear the ſurplice and the aumeſs †, and to be a ſecond time anointed with the holy oil of Rheims.

† An ornament which the canons of a cathedral church wear on their arms when they go to officiate at maſs.

As-

At length, being ſenſible of the approaches of death, he ſhut himſelf up in 1483
the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-tours, and inacceſſible to every one, ſurrounded by guards, and a prey to the moſt bitter reflections, he ſent for a hermit of Calabria, called Franciſco Martorillo, ſince adored as a ſaint, under the name of St. Franciſco de Paulo, and throwing himſelf at his feet, entreated him with a flood of tears, to intercede with God that his life might be prolonged; as if the voice of a Calabrian friar in a village of France could arreſt the ordinance of God, or preſerve a weak and perverſe ſoul in a worn out body, contrary to the rules of nature. While he was thus begging for life of a foreign hermit, he thought to recruit the weak remains that were left by drinking the blood of young children, fondly imagining to correct thereby the acrimony of his own.

Certainly no one could experience a more melancholy ſituation than to be in the midſt of power and proſperity, the continual victim of uneaſineſs, remorſe, fear, and the ſhame of being univerſally deteſted.

And yet he was the firſt of the kings of France who took and uſed the title of Moſt Chriſtian king; much at the ſame time that Ferdinand of Arragon, as famous for his perfidies as his conqueſts, took that of Catholic.

Notwithſtanding his many vices, Lewis had ſome good qualities. He was valiant and liberal: he was well acquainted with men and things: he would have juſtice executed; and no one but himſelf dared to be unjuſt.

When Paris had been laid waſte by a plague, it was repeopled through his care; on this occaſion

caſion indeed he received a number of robbers and freebooters, but the ſeverity of his adminiſtration ſoon made them good citizens. In his time this city contained eighty thouſand burghers able to bear arms. To him the people were firſt indebted for the lowering of the power of the grandees. This made about fifty thouſand families murmur againſt him; but it procured, or ought to have procured him, the bleſſings of above five hundred thouſand.

He was the firſt who eſtabliſhed the poſts, though not on the ſame footing as they now are in Europe. He only revived the *veredarii* of Charlemagne, and the ancient Roman empire. He kept two hundred and thirty couriers, at his own expence, to carry his orders inceſſantly through the kingdom. Private perſons had the uſe of the horſes belonging to theſe couriers, on paying ten ſols per horſe for every journey of thirty leagues. Letters were delivered from town to town by the king's couriers. This branch of police was for a long time unknown in France. He likewiſe endeavoured to eſtabliſh one ſtandard for weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom, as had been done in the time of Charlemagne. In a word, he proved that a bad man may be a public benefactor when his private intereſt is not againſt it.

The taxes in the reign of Charles VII. independent of the royal demeſnes, amounted to ſeventeen hundred thouſand livres of that currency. In the reign of Lewis XI. they were four millions and an half of livres, which at ten livres to the mark, will make twenty-three millions and an half of our preſent cur-

rency. Now, if we examine the price of commodities according to this proportion, eſpecially corn, which is the principal one, we ſhall find that they were not worth above one half of what they are at preſent: ſo that with twenty three millions and an half, the government then anſwered all the purpoſes for which it is at preſent obliged to expend forty-ſix.

Such was the condition of the French power before Burgundy, the Franche Comté, Artois, the territory of Boulogne, the cities on the Somme, and Provence, and Anjou, were annexed to the monarchy by Lewis XI. This kingdom ſoon afterwards became the moſt powerful in Europe, and might be compared to a river ſwelled by a thouſand leſſer ſtreams, and cleared from the mud and weeds which had ſo long interrupted its courſe.

Titles at this time firſt began to be given to power. Lewis XI. was the firſt king of France who had the title of Majeſty given him, which before was only given to the emperor, and which the German chancery has never granted to any king even to this day. The kings of Arragon, Caſtile, and Portugal, had the title of Highneſs. The king of England was ſtiled Your Grace: and Lewis XI. might have been called Your Deſpotſhip.

We have now ſeen by what a ſeries of fortunate crimes he came to be the firſt abſolute king in Europe ſince the eſtabliſhment of the great feudal government. Ferdinand the Catholic could never attain this power in Arragon. Iſabella indeed had the addreſs to work the minds of her Caſtilians to paſſive obedience, but ſhe never reigned abſolute. Every ſtate, every

every province, and every city throughout Europe, had its particular privileges; the feudal lords often oppoſed theſe privileges, and the kings frequently attempted to ſubject both the feudal lords and the cities to their obedience; but neither of them accompliſhed it, till Lewis XI. and he only by ſpilling the blood of Armagnac and Luxembourg on the ſcaffold, ſacrificing every thing to his vengeance, and paying dearly the execution of his vile purpoſes. Iſabella of Caſtile managed with more cunning and leſs cruelty; for inſtance, how did ſhe act when wanting to unite the dutchy of Placentia to her own crown? By means of inſinuations and money ſhe excited the vaſſals of the duke of Placentia to revolt againſt him. They accordingly aſſemble, and demand to be admitted as vaſſals of queen Iſabella, and ſhe, out of complaiſance, complies with their requeſt.

Lewis XI. at the ſame time that he encreaſed his power over his ſubjects by his rigorous adminiſtration, enlarged his kingdom by his induſtry and application to public buſineſs. He procured the county of Provence in legacy from its laſt ſovereign count, and thus deprived the empire of a feudatory, as Philip of Valois had done with regard to Dauphiné. He likewiſe annexed Anjou and Maine, which belonged to this count, to the crown of France; and thus, by ſkill, money, and good fortune, did the kingdom of France, which from the reign of Hugh Capet had been of little or no conſideration, and which had been almoſt finally deſtroyed by the Engliſh, become a conſiderable ſtate. The ſame good fortune procured it the addition of Burgundy; and the faults of the laſt duke reſtored

ſtored this province to the ſtate, which the imprudence of its kings had ſeparated from it.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Of BURGUNDY and the SWISS NATION, in the Time of LEWIS XI. in the fifteenth Century.

CHARLES the Raſh, who was deſcended in a right line from John king of France, held the dutchy of Burgundy as an appennage of his houſe, together with the cities upon the Somme, which had been ceded to his family by Charles VII. He was likewiſe poſſeſſed by right of ſucceſſion of the Franche Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almoſt all Holland. His cities in the Low Countries were in a flouriſhing condition, by means of their extenſive commerce, which almoſt equalled that of Venice; Antwerp was the ſtaple of the northern nations, the town of Ghent employed fifty thouſand workmen in their woollen manufactory, Bruges had as great a trade as Antwerp, and Arras was then famous for thoſe fine hangings which ſtill go by its name in Germany, England, and Italy.

It was then cuſtomary for princes to ſell their dominions when they were in want of money, as a private perſon now ſells his houſe or his eſtate. This cuſtom took place after the cruſades, Ferdinand king of Arragon ſold Rouſſillon to Lewis XI. with right of redemption;

demption; Charles duke of Burgundy had lately purchaſed the province of Gueldres, and a duke of Auſtria had ſold him all the demeſnes he poſſeſſed in Alſace, and the neighbourhood of Swiſſerland. This acquiſition was worth much more than Charles gave for it, who now ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of a ſtate which reached from the banks of the Somme to the gates of Straſburg; he had nothing to do therefore but to enjoy his good fortune. Few kings in Europe were ſo powerful as himſelf, and not one more rich or magnificent; but he was deſirous to erect his ſtates into a kingdom, which might one day have proved very prejudicial to France. To effect this nothing more was neceſſary than to purchaſe a diploma of the emperor Frederick III. the cuſtom being ſtill preſerved of aſking the title of king of the emperors, as a kind of homage paid to the ancient Roman empire. Charles however failed in this negociation; but as he deſigned to add Lorraine and Swiſſerland to his dominions, he was ſure that if he ſucceeded he might make himſelf king without the permiſſion of any one.

He was not at the leaſt pains to diſguiſe his ambition, and this procured him the ſurname of the Raſh. We may form an idea of his haughtineſs by his manner of receiving the
1474 deputies from Swiſſerland. The writers of that country affirm that he obliged them to addreſs him upon their knees. This is a ſtrange contradiction in the manners of a free nation which ſoon after became his conquerors.

The foundation of the duke of Burgundy's pretenſions to this homage to which the Helvetic body ſubmitted, was as follows: Several Swiſs

Swiſs villages were ſituated in the midſt of the demeſnes which he had purchaſed of the duke of Auſtria, and he thought when he made this purchaſe, that he bought theſe people likewiſe as ſlaves: the deputies of the commons always addreſſed the king of France upon the knee, and the duke of Burgundy had always kept up the *etiquette* of the chiefs of his houſe. We have elſewhere obſerved that ſeveral kings, after the example of the emperor, had inſiſted on the ceremony of the bended knee when ſpoken to, or preſented with any thing; and that this cuſtom, which came originally from Aſia, had been introduced by Conſtantine, and before him by Diocleſian. From hence came the cuſtom, that a vaſſal ſhould do homage to his lord by kneeling with both knees upon the ground, and likewiſe the cuſtom of kiſſing the pope's feet. This is the hiſtory of human vanity.

Philip of Comines, and the croud of hiſtorians who followed him, pretend that the war againſt the Swiſs, which proved ſo fatal to the duke of Burgundy, was occaſioned by a cart-load of ſheep-ſkins. The ſlighteſt occaſion will kindle a war when matters are ripe for it: but Lewis XI. had for a long time been endeavouring to animate the Swiſs againſt the duke of Burgundy, and many acts of hoſtility had paſſed between both parties, before the adventure of the ſheep-ſkins. The truth is, that Charles's ambition was the only occaſion of the war.

There were at that time only eight Swiſs cantons: Fribourg, Soleure, Schaffhouſe, and Appenzel, not having then entered into the alliance; nor did Baſil, an imperial town, whoſe

whose situation upon the Rhine made it a rich and flourishing port, make a part of this infant republic, known then only for its poverty, simplicity, and courage. The deputies of Berne presented a remonstrance to this ambitious prince, setting forth, that their whole country was not worth the spurs worn by his knights. These deputies did not address Charles upon the knee; they spoke with humility, and defended themselves bravely.

1476 The duke's gendarmerie, whose armour was all covered with gold, were twice beaten, and suffered the most shameful defeat from these humble villagers, who were astonished at the richness of the spoils they found in the enemy's camp.

Could it have been foreseen, that, when the largest diamond in Europe, taken by a Swiss soldier in the battle of Granson, was sold by him to his general for a crown; could it have been foreseen, I say, at that time, that one day there should be as beautiful and opulent cities in Switzerland as the capital of the dutchy of Burgundy then was? The luxury of jewels and rich stuffs was for a long time unknown to those people, and when it came to be known, it was prohibited; but the solid riches, which consist in agriculture, were always left free, to be gathered by the free and victorious hands of the inhabitants. The conveniencies of life have been more sought after by them of late; and the pleasures of society and sound philosophy, without which society can afford no lasting pleasure, have found their way into those parts of Switzerland where the climate is more mild, and where plenty now reigns. In

fine,

fine, in ſome parts of this country, formerly ſo wild and uncouth, they have at length found the way to join the politeneſs of Athens with the Spartan ſimplicity.

In the mean time Charles the Raſh determined to revenge himſelf upon Lorraine, and wreſt the city of Nanci (which he had taken once before) from its lawful poſſeſſor, duke René; but theſe very Swiſs, who had formerly conquered him, being now joined by the people of Fribourg and Soleure, who in that rendered themſelves worthy of the alliance, again defied the uſurper of their country, who purchaſed with his blood the title of Raſh, beſtowed upon him by poſterity. 1477

Then it was that Lewis XI. made himſelf maſter of Artois and the cities in the Somme, and of the dutchy of Burgundy as a male-fief, and of the city of Beſançon, as lying very convenient for him.

The princeſs Mary, daughter to Charles the Raſh, and ſole heireſs of ſo many provinces, ſaw herſelf by this means ſtript in an inſtant of two thirds of her inheritance. Lewis might alſo have added to the kingdom of France the Seventeen Provinces, which almoſt all belonged to this princeſs, by marrying her to his ſon; but he vainly flattered himſelf with having her for a daughter-in-law whom he had ſtript of her dominions; and thus this great politician miſſed an opportunity of annexing Franche Comté and all the Low Countries to his kingdom.

The people of Ghent and of the reſt of the towns in Flanders, who enjoyed more freedom at that time under their ſovereigns, than even the

the Engliſh do under their kings, deſtined Maximilian, ſon to the emperor Frederick III. for a conſort to their princeſs.

At preſent ſubjects learn the marriages of their princes, the making of war and peace, the laying on of taxes, and in ſhort the whole of their deſtiny, from the declarations iſſued by their maſters, but it was not ſo in Flanders: the people of Ghent determined that their princeſs ſhould marry a German; and they cut off the heads of the princeſs Mary's chancellor, and of her chamberlain Imbercourt, for having entered into a treaty of marriage for her with the dauphin of France; and theſe two miniſters were executed in the very preſence of the young princeſs, who pleaded in vain for their pardon with theſe rough people.

1478

Maximilian, who was invited rather by the people than the princeſs, repaired to Ghent to conclude his nuptials, like a private gentleman going to make his fortune by marrying a rich heireſs; his wife defrayed the expence of his journey, his equipage, and his houſhold. But though he eſpouſed Mary, he did not get poſſeſſion of her dominions, and was only the huſband of a ſovereign princeſs; and even when at the death of his wife he became guardian to the ſon he had by her; when he had the government of the Low Countries, and even after he came to be king of the Romans, and emperor, the inhabitants of Bruges impriſoned him in 1488 for four months, for having violated their privileges. Thus, if princes have frequently abuſed their power, the people on the other hand have as much abuſed their privileges.

This

This marriage of the heireſs of Burgundy with Maximilian proved the ſource of all thoſe wars which have for ſuch a number of years ſet the houſe of France at variance with that of Auſtria. This it was which gave riſe to the greatneſs of Charles V. and brought Europe to the brink of ſlavery: all through the obſtinacy of the citizens of Ghent, in marrying their princeſs.

CHAP. LXXXII.

OF CHIVALRY.

THE extinction of the houſe of Burgundy, the adminiſtration of Lewis XI. and above all the new method of making war lately introduced throughout Europe, had by little and little contributed to the abolition of that kind of military dignity or brotherhood, known by the name of chivalry, of which only the ſhadow is now left.

This chivalry was a military inſtitution, which had ariſen of itſelf among the great lords, in the ſame manner as religious ſocieties or brotherhoods had been eſtabliſhed among the citizens. This inſtitution owed its birth to the anarchy and rapine which deſolated all Europe upon the decline of the Charlemagne family. The nobles of all degrees, dukes, counts, viſcounts, vidames, caſtellans, were now become ſovereign princes in their own territories, and continually making war upon each other; and, inſtead of the great armies of Charles Martel,

Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, almoſt all Europe was divided into ſmall troops of ſeven or eight hundred men, and ſometimes much leſs. Two or three towns made a petty ſtate, which was inceſſantly fighting with its neighbouring ſtate. The communication between the provinces was ſhut up, the high roads were neglected, or ſo infeſted with robbers, that the merchant could no longer travel in ſafety, or bring his commodities to market; without which there was no ſubſiſting. Every poſſeſſor of a caſtle ſtopt them on the road, and laid them under contribution, and many of the larger caſtles upon the borders of the rivers were real dens of thieves, who not only plundered the merchants, but frequently carried off all the women that came in their way.

Several of the lords by degrees entered into aſſociations for the defence of the public ſafety, and the protection of the ladies, to which they bound themſelves by oath; and this virtuous inſtitution, by being made a religious act, became an indiſpenſible duty; ſeveral aſſociations of this kind were formed in moſt of the provinces, and every lord of a large fief held it an honour to be a knight, and admitted into this order.

Towards the eleventh century there were ſeveral religious and profane ceremonies appointed for the obſervance of each candidate, which ſeemed to throw a new character upon the order. The perſon who ſtood for admittance was to faſt, to confeſs himſelf, to receive the ſacrament, and to paſs one whole night under arms: after this he was to ſit at a table

by

by himſelf, while his godfathers, and the ladies that were to arm the new knight, dined at another. The candidate, clad in a white robe, was at his little table by himſelf, where it was forbidden him to ſpeak, laugh, or even to touch food. The next day he was to make his entrance into the church, with his ſword hanging about his neck, and received the prieſt's benediction; he was then to go and kneel down before the lord or lady who was to inveſt him with his armour of knighthood. Thoſe of the aſſiſtants who were qualified put on his ſpurs, clad him with his cuiraſs, his cap, his cuiſhes, his gauntlets, and the coat of mail called the haubert. The godfather who inſtalled him gave him three ſtrokes with the flat of his ſword on the neck, in the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George. And, from this inſtant, every time he heard maſs he drew his ſword at the reading of the goſpel, and held it upright.

The inſtallation was followed by a magnificent entertainment, and frequently by a tournament; but theſe were always at the people's expence. The great feudal lords impoſed a tax upon their vaſſals on the day that any of their children were made knights. Young people were generally admitted to this honour at the age of twenty-one: before that they were termed batchelors, which is as much as to ſay leſſer knights, varlets, or ſquires; and the lords who were incorporated in theſe military ſocieties, frequently gave their children to each other to be brought up at a diſtance from their parents roof, under the name of varlets, or apprentices in chivalry.

Theſe

Theſe knights were in greateſt vogue in the time of the cruſades. The lords of fiefs, who brought vaſſals into the field under their banner, were called knights bannerets; not that the title of knight alone gave them the privilege of appearing in the field with banners. It was their power, and not the ceremony of inſtallation, which enabled them to raiſe troops and keep them on foot. They were bannerets in virtue of their fiefs, and not of their knighthood; this title being only a diſtinction introduced by cuſtom; a kind of conventional honour, and not any real dignity in the ſtate, nor of the leaſt weight in the form of government. The knights had no ſhare in the elections of emperors or kings; nor was it neceſſary to have been dubbed a knight to be admitted to a ſeat in the diets of the empire, the parliaments of France, or the cortes of Spain. In a word, none of the eſſentials of government, ſuch as infeoffments, rights of dependency and juriſdiction, inheritance, or laws, had any connexion with chivalry. The chief privileges of this inſtitution conſiſted in bloody exhibitions and tournaments A batchelor or eſquire was not in general allowed to enter the liſts againſt a knight.

Kings themſelves frequently entered into this order, but this made no addition to their honour or power; they only did it to encourage chivalry and valour by their example. The knights were always treated with great reſpect by the community, and that was all.

But after king Edward III. inſtituted the order of the garter; Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, that of the golden fleece; and

Lewis

Lewis XI. the order of St. Michael, which at its firſt inſtitution was as noble as either of the other two, though now ſo ridiculouſly diſgraced; then the ancient chivalry began to decline. It had no longer any diſtinguiſhing mark, nor a chief to confer the particular honours and privileges of the order. And there were no longer any knights bannerets after the kings and great princes had erected military companies; ſo that chivalry became then only a name. The honour of knighthood was generally conferred by a great prince or ſome renowned warrior. Thoſe lords who were of any eſtabliſhed rank of dignity took, with the reſt of their titles, that of knight; and all thoſe who made profeſſion of arms called themſelves eſquires.

The military orders of knighthood, as thoſe of the Templars, of Malta, the Teutonic order, and ſeveral others, are only imitations of the ancient chivalry, and have added religious ceremonies to the military function. But this kind of chivalry is quite different from the ancient inſtitution, and was only productive of certain orders of military monks, founded by the popes, endowed with benefices, and confined to three orders of monks. Of theſe extraordinary orders, ſome have been great conquerors, others have been ſuppreſſed on account of their debaucheries, and others ſtill continue to ſubſiſt in high reputation.

The Teutonic was a ſovereign order, as that of Malta ſtill is, and will long continue to be.

Almoſt every prince in Europe has endeavoured to eſtabliſh an order of knighthood. The

ſimple title of knight, beſtowed by the kings of England upon ſome of the principal citizens, without their being incorporated into any particular order, is derived from the ancient chivalry, but differs widely from its original. The ancient chivalry has been preſerved no where but in France, in the ceremony of creating knights all the ambaſſadors ſent to that court from the republic of Venice; and in this inſtallation the dubbing or ſtriking with the ſword is the only part of the original inſtitution which is preſerved.

Here we have exhibited to us a various picture; and if we attentively trace the chain of all the cuſtoms in Europe ſince the time of Charlemagne, in ſtate, church, war, honours, finances and ſociety, nay even in dreſs itſelf, we ſhall meet with nothing but one perpetual change.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

Of the FEUDAL GOVERNMENT in the fifteenth Century, after the death of LEWIS XI.

YOU have already ſeen how in Italy, France, and Germany, anarchy was turned into deſpotiſm, under the reign of Charlemagne, and deſpotiſm again overturned by anarchy under his deſcendants.

You are ſenſible how wrong it is to think that there were no hereditary fiefs before the time

time of Hugh Capet. Normandy is a ſtrong inſtance of the contrary. Bavaria and Acquitain were hereditary fiefs before Charlemagne's time; as were almoſt all the Italian fiefs under the Lombard kings. In the reign of Charles the Fat and the Simple, the great officers of ſtate and ſome biſhops arrogated to themſelves the rights of regality. But there were always poſſeſſors of large territories under the title of Sires in France, Herren in Germany, and Ricos Hombres in Spain. There were always likewiſe ſome great cities governed by their own magiſtrates, as Rome, Milan, Lyons, Rheims, &c. Now the bounds of the liberties of theſe cities, and thoſe of the power of particular lords, have been always changing; and force and fortune have determined every thing. If ſome of the great officers became uſurpers, the father of Charlemagne had been the ſame. Pepin the grandſon of Arnold biſhop of Metz, and preceptor to Dagobert, dethroned the family of Clovis*: Hugh Capet diſpoſſeſſed Pepin's family; and the deſcendants of this Hugh Capet were never able to re-aſſemble the ſcattered members of the French monarchy.

The feudal power in France received a mortal blow from Lewis XI. and was vigorouſly oppoſed in Spain by Ferdinand and Iſabella. In England it had been obliged to give way to the mixed form of government. It ſtill ſubſiſted in Poland indeed, though under another form. But in Germany it remained in full vigour, and was even encreaſing every day. The count de Boulainvilliers calls this conſtitution "the

* See Vol. I. Chap. vi. viii. ix.

effort of human genius." Loiſeau, and other great civilians, term it "an extravagant inſtitution; a monſter compoſed of members without an head."

We cannot think it a very powerful effort of genius, but rather the mere natural and common effect of human reaſon and ambition, for thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of lands to be deſirous of being maſters in their own territories. The great land-holders, from the midſt of Muſcovy to the mountains of Caſtile, have all thought in the ſame manner, though they may not perhaps have communicated their ideas to each other; and were all equally deſirous that their lives and eſtates ſhould not depend upon the abſolute power of a king. They have aſſociated together in every country to oppoſe this power, and at the ſame time have exerciſed it as much as they were able upon their own vaſſals and ſubjects.

This kind of government prevailed in Europe for upwards of five hundred years; it was indeed unknown among the Greeks and Romans. But certainly that cannot properly be called an extravagant inſtitution which has been ſo univerſally received in Europe. It is doubtleſs an unjuſt one, becauſe the greater number are cruſhed by the fewer, and the private citizen can never hope to riſe but by a general ſubverſion of the ſtate. No flouriſhing cities, no extenſive commerce, nor no encouragement for the polite arts are found under a government purely feudal: and the powerful cities in Germany and Flanders flouriſhed only in conſequence of a ſhort interval of liberty. The cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, for exam-

ple, are to be considered rather as republics under the protection of the dukes of Burgundy, than towns subject to the arbitrary authority of those dukes. The same may be said of the imperial cities.

You have seen the feudal anarchy establish itself through a great part of Europe under the successors of Charlemagne: but before his time, and under the Lombard kings, the feudal form of government was more regular. The Franks, when they invaded Gaul, divided amongst them the territories of Clovis: therefore the count de Boulainvilliers will have it that the lords of castles were all sovereign princes in France. But what person not possessed of territories can say, I am a descendant of one of the conquerors of Gaul? Or, though he should be descended in a right line from any one of these usurpers, would not the cities and the commons have a better right to recover their liberty than this Frank ever could have had to deprive them of it?

It cannot be said that the feudal power in Germany was established by right of conquest, as it was in Lombardy and France. Germany was never entirely conquered by foreigners; and yet it is, at this time, the only country in the world where the feudal law truly subsists. The Boyards of Russia have their subjects, but they are subjects themselves, and do not form a body politic like the German princes. The Tartar khans and the princes of Walachia and Moldavia are real feudal lords, holding of the grand signior. But then they are liable to be deposed by an order of divan; whereas the German lords cannot be dispos-

ſeſſed but by the general decree of the whole nation. The Poliſh nobility are more upon an equality with each other than the land-holders in Germany; therefore this is not a real feudal government. There are likewiſe no rear-vaſſals in Poland. A nobleman there, is not the ſubject of another nobleman, as in Germany. Poland is an ariſtocratic republic, where the common people are all ſlaves.

The feudal law is on a different footing in Italy. Every territory is deemed a fief of the empire in Lombardy, which occaſions great uncertainty; for the emperors are ſupreme lords of thoſe fiefs, only in quality of kings of Italy, and ſucceſſors to the kings of Lombardy. Now certainly a diet of Ratisbon is not king of Italy. But what has happened from this? The Germanic liberty having prevailed over the imperial authority in Germany, and the empire having become a diſtinct thing from the emperor, the Italian fiefs call themſelves vaſſals of the empire, and not of the emperor. Thus one feudal adminiſtration is become another feudal adminiſtration. The fief of Naples again is of a nature entirely different from either of theſe. It is a homage paid by the ſtronger to the weaker; a kind of ceremony kept up by cuſtom.

Every thing has been a fief in Europe, and the laws of fiefs have been every where different. When the male branch of Burgundy became extinct, Lewis XI. thought he had a right to ſucceed to that dukedom. But if the houſe of Saxony or Bavaria was to fail, the emperor would have no right to take poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces; nor would the pope have

any

any claim to the kingdom of Naples, in caſe the reigning family was to become extinct. Theſe rights are all derived from force, cuſtom, or agreement. Force gave Burgundy to Lewis XI. for there was ſtill a prince of that houſe living, the count of Nevers, who was a deſcendant of the lawful poſſeſſors, but dared not aſſert his right. It was likewiſe no leſs ſcandalous that Mary of Burgundy was excluded from the ſucceſſion. For in the grant made of the dominion of Burgundy to her anceſtors, by king John of France, it is expreſly ſaid "that the heirs ſhall ſucceed to the honours;" now a daughter is an heireſs.

The queſtion concerning male and female fiefs, the right of liege homage or ſimple homage; the confuſion among thoſe lords who held different lands in vaſſalage of two lords paramount at a time, and among the vaſſals of lords paramount who conteſted the ſupreme demeſne; and a thouſand difficulties of the like nature, gave riſe to numberleſs proceſſes which could be decided only by the force of arms. The fortunes and poſſeſſions of private citizens were ſtill in a more unhappy ſituation.

What muſt be the ſituation of that vaſſal whoſe lord is himſelf ſubject to another, who holds of a third! He muſt be involved in ſuits in almoſt every court, and loſe all he is worth before he can obtain a final decree. It is certain that the people never voluntarily made choice of this form of government. Nor is that country worthy to be inhabited, where all degrees and conditions are not equally ſubjected to the laws.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

Of CHARLES VIII. and of the State of EUROPE when that Prince undertook the Conqueſt of NAPLES.

LEWIS XI. left his ſon Charles VIII. a child of fourteen years of age, weak in body, and unimproved in mind, maſter of the fineſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe. But he left him at the ſame time a civil war, which is almoſt the inſeparable attendant upon a minority. The young king was indeed no longer a minor by Charles V.'s law: but he was ſtill ſo by nature. His eldeſt ſiſter Anne, wife to Baujeu duke of Bourbon, was left regent by her father's will, and is ſaid to have been very worthy of this high poſt. Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, and afterwards that Lewis XII. whoſe memory is ſtill ſo dear, began by being the ſcourge of the kingdom to which he afterwards proved the tendereſt parent. In the firſt place, his rank of firſt prince of the blood, had been ſo far from procuring him any ſhare in the government, that it had not even given him the right of precedency over thoſe peers who were of more ancient creation. On the other hand it ſeemed very extraordinary, that a woman who was by law declared incapable of aſcending the throne, ſhould nevertheleſs reign under another name. Theſe conſiderations excited Lewis of Orleans, who was of an ambitious temper, (as the moſt virtuous frequently are) to raiſe a civil war againſt the

the king his maſter, in order to be made his guardian.

The parliament of Paris then found, for the firſt time, of how much conſideration it might be during a minority. The duke of Orleans applied in perſon to the courts for an order to alter the adminiſtration. La Vaquerie, the firſt preſident, who was an able lawyer, made him anſwer, that the parliament had nothing to do either with the finances or the government of the ſtate, which belonged to the general ſtates, whom the parliament did not repreſent.

This reply proves that the city of Paris at that time was in full tranquility, and that the parliament was in the intereſt of Madame de Baujeu. A civil war now broke out in the provinces, and eſpecially in that of Brittany, where the old duke Francis II. eſpouſed the cauſe of the duke of Orleans. A battle was fought near St. Aubin in Brittany; and here it muſt be obſerved, that, in the army of the Bretons and the duke of Orleans, there were between four and five hundred Engliſh, notwithſtanding the troubles which then diſtracted that country, and drained it of its ſoldiers. The Engliſh have ſeldom ſtood neuter when France was to be attacked. The rebel army was defeated by that great general Lewis de la Trimouille, who took their chief the duke of Orleans priſoner, who afterwards came to be his ſovereign. Lewis may be reckoned the third king of the Capet family who had been taken priſoner in battle, and he was not the laſt. The duke of Orleans continued priſoner near three years in the tower

1488

1491 Bourges, till Charles VIII. went in perſon to deliver him from thence. The manners of the French were much milder than thoſe of the Engliſh, who, harraſſed with continual civil wars at that time, made it their common practice to put to death by the hands of the executioner thoſe whom they conquered in battle *.

The peace and greatneſs of France were at length happily eſtabliſhed by the marriage of Charles VIII. who obliged the old duke of Brittany to give him his daughter to wife, with all his dominions in dowry. The princeſs Anne of Brittany, one of the moſt beautiful women of her age, had a paſſion for the duke of Orleans, who was ſtill in the flower of his youth, and maſter of many amiable accompliſhments; and who, by this civil war, found himſelf deprived at once of his liberty and his miſtreſs.

Upon the marriages of princes in Europe depends the fate of their people. Charles VIII. who during the life-time of his father might have eſpouſed the princeſs Mary, heireſs of Burgundy, might now have had to wife the daughter of this Mary and of Maximilian king of the Romans; and Maximilian on his ſide, who had loſt his queen, Mary of Burgundy, had, not without reaſon, entertained hopes of obtaining Anne of Brittany for his ſecond conſort. He had even gone ſo far as to eſpouſe her by proxy; and the count of Naſſau had, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, put one leg

* See Chap. xciv. in this Vol.

into

into the princeſs's bed, in the name of the king of the Romans. But this did not hinder the king of France from concluding his marriage; and he obtained the princeſs, together with Brittany for her portion, which has ſince been reduced to a province of France.

France was then in its zenith of glory, and nothing but the many errors it was afterwards guilty of, could have prevented it from being the arbiter of Europe.

We may remember that the laſt count of Provence bequeathed his dominions to Lewis XI. * This count, in whom the houſe of Anjou became extinct, took the title of king of the two Sicilies, which his family had loſt the poſſeſſion of for a long time. This title he alſo left to Lewis XI. by the donation of the county of Provence. Charles VIII. determined not to wear an empty title, made all preparations for the conqueſt of Naples, and the dominion of all Italy.

Here we muſt ſtop and take a view of the ſtate of Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century, when theſe events took place.

* See Chap. lxxx.

CHAP. LXXXV.

The STATE of EUROPE at the End of the fifteenth Century.

1493 AT this time died the emperor Frederick III. of the houſe of Auſtria, leaving the empire to his ſon Maximilian, who was in his father's life-time elected king of the Romans. But theſe kings of the Romans had no power in Italy, and that which was left them in Germany was little more than that of a doge of Venice; beſides this, the houſe of Auſtria was far from being formidable in itſelf. They may in vain ſhew the tomb of this emperor at Vienna, with this epitaph, "Here lies Frederick III. the pious and auguſt, emperor, ſovereign of Chriſtendom, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, archduke of Auſtria, &c." This only ſerves to ſhew the vanity of ſuch inſcriptions: Frederick never enjoyed any other thing appertaining to Hungary but the crown, ornamented with a few jewels, which he always kept locked up in his cloſet, and would never reſtore to his pupil Ladiſlaus, who was the true king of Hungary, nor to thoſe whom the Hungarians afterwards choſe for their ſovereigns, and who defended them againſt the Turks. He was hardly poſſeſſed of half the province of Auſtria; his couſins had the reſt; and as to the title of ſovereign of Chriſtendom, it is eaſy to ſee how well he deſerved that. His ſon Maximilian had, beſides the demeſnes left him by his father, the regency of the dominions of Mary of Burgundy, his wife;

wife; but he governed only in the name of his ſon Philip the Handſome. As to the reſt, we know that he was called *Maſſimiliano pochi danari* *; a ſurname which does not ſhew him to have been a prince of any great power.

England, which was ſtill little better than a nation of ſavages, after having been long rent to pieces by the civil wars of the white and red roſes, in the manner which we ſhall ſoon relate, had but juſt begun to breathe under its king Henry VII. who, after the example of Lewis XI. humbled the barons, and favoured the people.

OF SPAIN.

Of the Unfortunate Reign of HENRY IV. ſurnamed the IMPOTENT; of ISABELLA and FERDINAND; the Taking of GRANADA, and the Perſecution againſt the JEWS and MOORS.

THE Chriſtian princes of Spain had always been at variance with each other. The race of Henry de Tranſtamare, the baſtard uſurper, (ſince we muſt call things by their proper names) ſtill continued to reign in Caſtile, and an uſurpation of a more ſingular kind laid the foundation of the Spaniſh grandeur.

Henry IV. one of the deſcendants of Tranſtamare, who began his unhappy reign in 1454, was totally enervated by his pleaſures. Never can a court be entirely given up to debaucheries, but revolutions, or at leaſt ſeditions muſt be

* Or, Maximilian the Moneyleſs.

the

the conſequences. Donna Juana, his queen, whom we ſhall call by this name, to diſtinguiſh her from his daughter the princeſs Joan, and ſeveral other princeſſes of the ſame name, was a daughter of Portugal: ſhe took not the leaſt pains to conceal her galantries, and few women ever carried on their amours with leſs regard to decency. Henry IV. paſſed his time with his wife's lovers, and theſe diverted themſelves with the king's miſtreſſes. In ſhort, every thing conſpired to ſet the Spaniards an example of the greateſt effeminacy and moſt conſummate debauchery. The adminiſtration being ſo weak, the malecontents, who make the majority at all times, and in all countries, became very numerous in Caſtile. This kingdom was then governed as France, England, Germany, and all the other monarchical ſtates in Europe had for a long time been. The vaſſals ſhared in the ſovereign authority; and if the biſhops were not like thoſe of Germany, ſovereign princes, they were lords and great vaſſals, the ſame as in France.

An archbiſhop of Toledo, named Carillo, with ſeveral other biſhops, headed the party againſt the king; and the ſame diſorders were renewed in Spain which had afflicted France in the reign of Lewis the Feeble, Germany under a number of its emperors, and which we ſhall ſoon ſee appear again in France under Henry III. and deſolate England in the reign of Charles I.

1465 The rebels now grown powerful, depoſed their king in effigy; a ceremony which had never before entered into the heads of any faction. They erected a great ſtage in the

the plain of Avila, upon which was placed a ſorry wooden figure, repreſenting Henry IV. dreſſed in his robes and other enſigns of royalty. To this figure they read the ſentence of depoſition, after which the archbiſhop of Toledo took off the crown, another perſon the ſword, and a third took away the ſceptre; they then, from the ſame ſtage, proclaimed a young brother of Henry's, named Alphonſo, king in his ſtead. This farce was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not ceaſe even after the death of the young prince, on whom the conſpirators had beſtowed the kingdom. The archbiſhop and his party declared the king impotent, at the very time that he was ſurrounded by miſtreſſes; and, by a proceeding unheard of in any ſtate, pronounced his daughter Joan a baſtard, and born in adultery *.

Several of the grandees on this occaſion laid claim to the crown; but the rebels agreed to acknowledge the king's ſiſter Iſabella, a princeſs of ſeventeen years of age, ſooner than ſubmit to one of their equals; and choſe rather to lay the kingdom waſte in the name of a young queen, who had as yet no intereſt, than to raiſe up any perſon to be their maſter.

The archbiſhop then who had made war againſt his king in the name of the infant, now continued to carry it on in the name of the infanta; and Henry could not extricate himſelf out of all theſe troubles, nor remain quiet upon

* The whole nation was ſo well convinced of the king's impotence, and that this child was the daughter of don Bertrand de la Cueva, that they beſtowed upon her the name of Bertraneja,

his

1468 his throne till he had ſigned one of the moſt ſhameful treaties that had ever been extorted from a ſovereign; by which he acknowledged his ſiſter Iſabella as the only lawful heireſs to his kingdom, in prejudice to the undoubted rights of his own daughter Joan: and at this price he purchaſed of his rebellious ſubjects the empty title of king.

But, in order to complete their work, it was neceſſary to provide the young princeſs Iſabella a huſband able to defend her claim. For this purpoſe they caſt their eyes on Ferdinand, heir to the crown of Arragon, a prince nearly of the ſame age with Iſabella. The archbiſhop married them privately; and this marriage, concluded under ſuch fatal auſpices, proved nevertheleſs the foundation of the Spaniſh greatneſs. At firſt it revived all the former diviſions, civil wars, fraudulent treaties, and thoſe outward reconciliations which ſerve only to aug-
1469 ment a mutual hatred. Henry, after having once more ſettled matters on a quiet footing, was attacked with a violent diſorder at an entertainment given him by one
1474 of theſe reconciled enemies, and died ſoon after.

He vainly bequeathed at his death his kingdom to his daughter Joan, and ſwore in vain that ſhe was his lawful daughter; neither his death-bed oaths, nor the aſſeverations of his queen, availed aught againſt the party of Iſabella and Ferdinand (afterwards ſurnamed the Catholic) king of Arragon and Sicily. They did not live together like man and wife, in the common poſſeſſion of their eſtates, under the huſband's direction, but like two monarchs in cloſe

close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other, were seldom in company together, had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of each other in the administration; the queen found a still greater subject of jealousy in the infidelity of her husband, who filled all the great posts in the state with his bastards: but they were both inseparably united in their common interests, always acting upon the same principles, always having the words religion and piety in their mouths, and wholly taken up with their ambitious views. In short, the rightful heiress Joan was unable to withstand their united forces; at length her uncle don Alphonso, king of Portugal, who was desirous of espousing her, took up arms in her favour. But the conclusion of all these efforts and troubles was, that this unfortunate princess ended that life in a convent, which was destined to a throne. 1479

Never was injustice better coloured, succeeded more fortunately, or was justified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century by their mutual discords and divisions; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

Boabdilla, nephew to Alboacen, king of Granada, engaged in rebellion against him. Ferdinand the Catholic took every opportunity

tunity of fomenting this civil war, and of ſupporting the nephew againſt the uncle; by this means to weaken both the one and the other. Soon after the death of Alboacen, he fell upon his ally Boabdilla, with the united forces of Arragon and Caſtile. It coſt him ſix years to conquer this Mahometan kingdom. At length he came and laid ſiege to the city of Granada, which held out againſt him for eight months. Queen Iſabella came thither in perſon to ſhare in her huſband's triumph. Boabdilla ſurrendered upon conditions which ſhewed that he was yet able to defend his capital: for it was ſtipulated, that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the eſtates, lands, liberties, or religion of the Moors; that the priſoners taken from them ſhould be reſtored without ranſom; and that the Jews, who were comprehended in the ſame treaty, ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges.

1491 Boabdilla then came out of the city, and went to preſent the keys to Ferdinand and Iſabella, who treated him like a king for the laſt time.

Cotemporary writers who have related this event, tell us, that the Mooriſh king ſhed tears when he looked back upon the walls of that city, which had been built by the Mahometans near 500 years, was full of inhabitants and riches, adorned with that ſtupendous palace of the Mooriſh kings, in which were the fineſt baths in Europe, and a number of magnificent and ſpacious apartments, ſupported upon an hundred pillars of alabaſter. Perhaps the very luxury, the loſs of which he ſo much regretted, had been the inſtrument of his ruin. He retired into Africa, and there ended his days.

Fer-

Ferdinand was conſidered in Europe as the avenger of the Chriſtian religion, and the reſtorer of his country. From that time he was called king of Spain: and in fact, being maſter of Caſtile by right of marriage, of Granada by conqueſt, and of Arragon by birth, he wanted only Navarre, which he got poſſeſſion of in the end. He had ſeveral warm diſputes with France about Cerdagne and Rouſſillon, which had been pledged to Lewis XI. It may be judged whether, as king of Sicily, he could without jealouſy behold Charles VIII. preparing to paſs into Italy in order to diſpoſſeſs one of the houſe of Arragon, then ſettled on the throne of Naples.

We ſhall ſoon ſee in what manner the conſequences of ſo natural a jealouſy broke forth; but, previous to entering into the quarrels of princes, you are always deſirous to obſerve the fate of the people. You ſee that Ferdinand and Iſabella did not find the kingdom of Spain in the condition it was afterwards under Charles V. and Philip II. The mixture of antient Viſigoths, Vandals, Africans, Jews, and Aborigines, had for a long time laid waſte the land of which they diſputed the poſſeſſion, and it did not grow fruitful till it came into the hands of the Mahometans. The Moors, after they were conquered, became farmers to their conquerors, and the Chriſtians of Spain were wholly maintained by the labours of their ancient enemies. They had no manufactures of their own, and as little trade; they were hardly acquainted with the common neceſſaries of life: they had little or no furniture in their houſes, no inns on their roads, no conveniences for lodging

lodging ſtrangers in their towns; and the uſe of fine linnen was for a long time unknown to them, and even that of the coarſer kind was very ſcarce. All their trade, both foreign and domeſtic, was carried on by the Jews, who were become abſolutely neceſſary in a nation which knew only the uſe of arms.

1492 When, towards the end of the fifteenth century, they began in Spain to enquire into the cauſes of the wretchedneſs of the country, it was found that the Jews had accumulated to themſelves either by trade or uſury all the money in the nation; and upon a computation there appeared to be no leſs than one hundred and fifty thouſand of this foreign nation amongſt them, who were at once ſo odious and ſo neceſſary to the Spaniards. A number of the grandees, who had nothing left but their titles, had married into Jewiſh families, as the only means of repairing the loſſes they had ſuſtained by their prodigality; and they made the leſs ſcruple of ſuch an alliance, as it had for a long time been cuſtomary for the Chriſtians to intermarry with the Moors. It was therefore debated in the king and queen's council, by what means the nation might be delivered from this underhand tyranny of the Jews, after having ſhaken off that of the Mahometans. At length they came to a reſolution, in the year 1492, to drive all the Jews out of the kingdom, and ſhare their ſpoils. Accordingly they were allowed only ſix months to diſpoſe of their effects, which they were conſequently obliged to part with at a very low price. They were furthermore forbid, upon pain of death, to carry with them either gold, ſilver,

ſilver, or jewels. In conſequence of this ordinance, no leſs than thirty thouſand Jewiſh families left the kingdom of Spain, which, at a computation of five perſons in each family, amounts to one hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls. Part retired into Africa, and part into Portugal and France, and ſeveral returned back under pretence of embracing the Chriſtian religion. They had been expelled the kingdom for the ſake of getting poſſeſſion of their riches, and they were received again for the ſake of thoſe they brought back with them; and it was principally on their account that the tribunal of the inquiſition was ſet up, that upon the leaſt attempt to exerciſe any act of their own religion, they might be proceeded againſt juridically, and their poſſeſſions forfeited. No ſuch treatment is offered in India to the Banyans, who are exactly in that country what the Jews are in Europe, a people ſeparated from all the other nations by a religion as ancient as the annals of the world, but united with them by the neceſſity of commerce, of which they are the factors, and by which they acquire as great riches as the Jews do amongſt us. Theſe Banyans are not hated, either by Mahometans, Chriſtians, or Pagans; whereas the Jews are held in execration by all nations amongſt whom they are admitted. Some Spaniſh writers pretend that this nation was grown formidable: they were certainly hurtful to the Spaniards by the immenſe profits they made of them, but they were not a warlike people, and therefore there was nothing to fear from them. The Spaniards feigned to be alarmed at what was only a piece of vanity in the Jews, namely,

ly, their having endeavoured long before the Chriſtians to form a ſettlement upon the ſouthern coaſts of the kingdom. It is certain, that they had for time immemorial flocked in great numbers into the province of Andaluſia: now they had attempted to cloak this fact under a thouſand idle and fabulous notions, which have always prevailed among theſe people, the more ſenſible part of whom always confine themſelves to buſineſs, and leave rabbiniſm to thoſe who have nothing better to do. The Spaniſh rabbins had written a great deal to prove that a colony of Jews flouriſhed in theſe parts in the time of king Solomon, and that the inhabitants of ancient Bætica paid a tribute to him: they endeavoured to ſupport this aſſertion by a number of falſe medals and inſcriptions. This piece of deceit, with others of a more eſſential kind of which they were accuſed, contributed not a little to their diſgrace.

From this time began in Spain and Portugal the diſtinction between old and new Chriſtians, or thoſe families which had intermarried with Jews, and thoſe which had made alliances with Moors.

Nevertheleſs the temporary profit which accrued to the ſtate from the violence offered to the Jews, ſoon deprived it of the certain revenues which theſe people uſed to pay into the royal treaſury. This deficiency continued to be ſeverely felt till the Spaniards made themſelves maſters of the riches of the new world. However, they provided againſt this inconvenience as much as might be by the help of bulls: that granted by pope Julius II. in 1509, called the Cru-

Cruzado, brought more money into the government than all the taxes it had laid upon the Jews. Every private perſon was obliged to purchaſe one of theſe bulls, for the permiſſion to eat meat in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays throughout the year. No one who went to confeſſion could receive abſolution without firſt ſhewing this bull to the prieſt. They afterwards fell upon the invention of the bull of compoſition, by virtue of which a perſon was allowed to keep any thing he had ſtolen, provided he did not know the owner. Such ſuperſtitious practices are certainly as bad as any thing of the kind with which they reproached the Hebrews. Folly, infatuation, and vice, are in every country a part of the public revenue.

The form of abſolution given to thoſe who purchaſed this bull, is not unworthy a place in this general picture of the cuſtoms and manners of mankind: "By the authority of Almighty God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of our moſt holy father the pope, to me committed, I grant you the remiſſion of all your ſins, confeſſed, forgotten, and unknown; and from the pains of purgatory."

The Mahometans underwent the ſame treatment from Iſabella, or rather from her miniſter cardinal Ximenes, as the Jews had done: great numbers of them were forced to become Chriſtians, notwithſtanding the articles of capitulation at Granada, and were ſent to the ſtake if they turned again to their own religion. This drove as many Moors out of the kingdom as it had done Jews; nor do we lament the fate of either the Arabs or the Hebrews, the one having ſo long

long held Spain in ſubjection, and the others having for a ſtill longer time continued to plunder it.

About this time the Portugueſe firſt emerged from their obſcurity; and, notwithſtanding the ignorance of thoſe ages, began to merit a glory as laſting as the univerſe, by the great change they wrought in the commerce of the world, which was the fruit of their diſcoveries. The Portugueſe were the firſt of all the modern nations who navigated on the Atlantic Ocean, and are indebted only to themſelves for the diſcovery of the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, whereas the Spaniards owe the diſcovery of America to foreigners. But it was to one man only, namely, the infant don Henry, that the Portugueſe are indebted for that great undertaking, againſt which they at firſt ſo loudly murmured. Whatever has been done either great or noble in the world, has been brought about wholly by the genius and courage of a ſingle man, who has dared to oppoſe the prejudices of the multitude.

Portugal was employed in its great navigations and ſucceſſes in Africa, and took no part in the events of Italy, which alarmed the reſt of Europe.

Of ITALY.

I Shall now ſet before you the powers, the intereſts, and the manners of the ſeveral nations, from the mountains of Dauphiné to the extremity of Italy.

The dominions of Savoy, which were not then ſo extenſive as they are at preſent, as containing

taining neither Montferrat nor Saluca, and being deſtitute both of money and commerce, was not looked upon as a barrier. Its ſovereigns were attached to the houſe of France, which had lately, during their minority, diſpoſed of the government; and the paſſage of the Alps was left open.

From Piedmont we deſcend into the territories of Milan, the moſt fertile country of Hither Italy. This as well as Savoy was an imperial principality, but powerful and altogether independent of a feeble empire. This ſtate, after having belonged to the Viſcontis, paſſed into the hands of a peaſant's baſtard, a great man himſelf, and the ſon of a great man. This peaſant was Francis Sforza, who by his own merit roſe to be conſtable of Naples, and one of the moſt powerful noblemen in Italy. His baſtard ſon was one of the Condottieri, and chief of theſe diſciplined banditti, who ſold their ſervice to the popes, the Venetians, and the Neapolitans. He made himſelf maſter of Naples in the middle of the fifteenth century, and ſome time afterwards of Genoa, which had formerly been ſo flouriſhing a republic, and which, after having ſuſtained nine ſucceſſive wars with Venice, was now fluctuating from one ſtate of ſlavery to another. It had offered itſelf to the French in the reign of Charles VI. and had afterwards revolted: it then acknowledged the authority of Charles VII. in 1458, and again ſhook off his yoke. It would next have ſubmitted to Lewis XI. but that monarch returned for anſwer, that it might give itſelf to the devil, for he would have nothing to do with

its. After all, in 1464, it was obliged to ſubmit to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan.

1476 Galeas Sforza, the ſon of this baſtard, was aſſaſſinated in the cathedral church of Milan on St. Stephen's day. I mention this circumſtance, which otherwiſe would be frivolous, becauſe here it is of importance; for the aſſaſſins loudly invoked St. Stephen and St. Ambroſe to inſpire them with ſufficient courage to murder their prince. Poiſonings, aſſaſſinations, and ſuperſtition, were the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the Italians in thoſe days, who, though well verſed in the arts of revenge, knew not how to fight, conſequently the number of poiſoners far exceeded that of good ſoldiers. The ſon of this unfortunate Galeas Sforza, while yet an infant, ſucceeded him in the dutchy of Milan, under the guardianſhip of his mother, and the chancellor Simonetta. But his uncle Ludovico Sforza, or Lewis the Moor, drove the mother out of the kingdom, put the chancellor to death, and ſoon after poiſoned his nephew.

It was this Lewis the Moor who entered into a treaty with Charles VIII. to favour the deſcent of the French in Italy.

Tuſcany, a country leſs beholden to the gifts of nature, was to Milan what the antient Attica was to Bæotia; for within the laſt century Florence had ſignalized itſelf, as we have already ſeen, by its attention to commerce and the liberal arts. The family of Medicis were at the head of this polite nation, than whom no houſe ever acquired ſupreme power by a more juſt title. It obtained it by mere dint of bene-

beneficence and virtue. Cosmo de Medicis, born in 1389, was a private citizen of Florence, who lived without seeking for titles; but acquired by commerce a fortune equal to the greatest monarchs of his time. He employed his great wealth in relieving the poor, in making himself friends among the rich by lending money to them, in adorning his country with superb edifices, and in inviting to Florence the men of learning among the Greeks who were driven from Constantinople. His advice was for the space of thirty years the law of the republic. His only arts were his good deeds, which are of all others the most just. After his death his papers shewed that he had lent immense sums to his countrymen, of which he had never demanded the least payment, and he died universally regretted by his very enemies. The people of Florence with 1464
one consent adorned his tomb with the glorious epitaph of father of his country, a title which not one of the many kings we have seen pass in review were ever able to obtain.

His reputation procured his descendants the chief authority in Tuscany. His son took the administration under the name of Gonfalonier. His two grandsons, Laurence and Julian, who were masters of the republic, were set upon in the church by a band of conspirators at the time of the elevation of the host. Julian
died of the wounds he received, but 1478
Laurence made his escape. Florence resembled Athens, both in government and genius. It was at one time aristocratical, and at another popular, and dreaded nothing so much as tyranny.

Coſmo de Medicis might be compared to Piſiſtratus, who notwithſtanding his great power, was ranked in the number of ſages. The ſons of this Coſmo reſembled thoſe of Piſiſtratus, who were aſſaſſinated by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Laurence eſcaped from his murderers, and ſo did one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus, and both of them lived to revenge the death of his brother: but that happened in Florence which did not at Athens; the chiefs of religion were concerned in this bloody conſpiracy. Pope Sixtus V. planned it, and the archbiſhop of Piſa ſet it on foot.

The people of Florence revenged this cruel, act on thoſe who were found guilty; and the archbiſhop himſelf was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence, thus revenged by his fellow citizens, made himſelf beloved by them during the reſt of his life. He was ſirnamed the father of the muſes, a title not equal indeed to that of father of his country, but which ſhewed that he was ſo in fact. It was a thing no leſs admirable than foreign to our manners to ſee this citizen, who always addicted himſelf to commerce, ſelling with one hand the produce of the Levant, and with the other ſupporting the weight of the republic; entertaining factors and ambaſſadors; oppoſing an artful and powerful pope, making peace and war, ſtanding forth the oracle of princes, and the cultivator of the Belles Lettres, furniſhing amuſements for the people, and giving a reception to the learned Greeks of Conſtantinople. His ſon Peter held the ſupreme authority in Florence, at the time that the French

French made their expedition to Naples; but with much leſs credit than either his predeceſſors or deſcendants.

Of the PAPAL STATE.

THE papal ſtate was not then what it now is; nor yet what it would have been, had the popes been in a condition to profit by the donations which it was thought Charlemagne had left them, and thoſe which they were really entitled to by the gift of the counteſs Matilda. The houſe of Gonzag was in poſſeſſion of Mantua, for which it did homage to the empire. Several lords under the titles of vicars of the empire, or of the church, were in peaceable fruition of thoſe fine territories which now belong to the popes. Perugia belonged to the family of the Bailloni; the Bentivoglios had Bologna; the Polentini Ravenna; the Manfredi Faenza; the Sforzas Pezaro; the Rimerios were in poſſeſſion of Imola and Forli; the houſe of Eſte had for a long time governed in Ferrara; the Picos in Mirandola, and the Roman barons had great power in Rome; whence they were called the pope's hand-cuffs. The families of Colonna and Urſini, the Conti, and the Savilli, who were the principal barons, and ancient poſſeſſors of the moſt conſiderable demeſnes, divided the Roman ſtate by their continual diſputes, like the great lords of France and Germany, who waged war with each other at the time that thoſe kingdoms were in their feeble ſtate. The people of Rome, who were very fond of proceſſions, and for ever crying out for plenary indulgences from their popes, fre-

quently mutinied upon their deaths, rifled their palaces, and were ready to throw their bodies into the Tiber, as was particularly the caſe at the death of pope Innocent VIII.

After his deceaſe Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, was choſen pope, and took the name of Alexander VI. a man whoſe memory has been made execrable by the cries of all Europe, and the pen of every hiſtorian. The proteſtants, who in the next age ſeparated themſelves from the church of Rome, added ſtill more to the meaſure of this pontiff's iniquities. We ſhall ſee preſently whether more crimes were laid to his charge than he deſerved. The exaltation of this man to the papal chair ſufficiently ſhews the manners and ſpirit of his age, ſo different from thoſe of the preſent. The cardinals who elected him muſt have known that he at that time openly brought up five children which he had by Vanoza. They muſt neceſſarily have foreſeen that all poſſeſſions, honours, and authority, would be in the hands of his family, and yet they choſe him for their maſter. The chiefs of the faction in the conclave ſold for a trifling ſum, not only their own intereſts but thoſe of all Italy.

Of VENICE.

VENICE extended its dominions on the terra firma from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had deſpoiled it of all which it had formerly taken in Greece from the Chriſtian emperors; but it ſtill retained the large iſland of Candia, and afterwards acquired that of Cyprus in 1437, by the donation

donation of its laſt queen, daughter to Marco Cornaro, the Venetian. But the induſtry of its inhabitants were of greater value than thoſe two iſlands, or the whole of its demeſnes upon terra firma. The wealth of other nations rolled in upon it, through all the various channels of commerce; all the princes of Italy ſtood in awe of this republic, and ſhe herſelf was in dread of an invaſion from France.

Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was alone regular, ſtable, and uniform. It had but one eſſential fault, which indeed was not thought ſuch by the ſenate; which was, that it wanted a counterpoiſe to the power of the patricians, and proper encouragement for the common people. No private citizen of Venice could hope to riſe by his merit, as in ancient Rome. The chief excellence of the Engliſh government, ſince the houſe of commons has had a ſhare in the legiſlature, conſiſts in this counterpoiſe, and in leaving the way to honours and dignities open to all ſuch who are deſerving of them.

Of NAPLES.

AS to the Neapolitans, they were always a weak and fickle people, alike incapable of governing themſelves, of chuſing a king, or or being contented with him they had; and always at the mercy of the firſt power who chuſed to invade them with an army.

Old king Fernando reigned at that time in Naples. He was a baſtard of the houſe of Arragon. Illegitimacy at that time was no bar to the throne. A baſtard race wore the crown

of Caſtile; and a baſtard, deſcendant of Don Pedro the Severe, governed Portugal. Fernando therefore reigned by this title in Naples; he had received the inveſtiture of that kingdom from the pope, in prejudice to the heirs of the houſe of Anjou, who ſtill aſſerted their rights. But he was neither beloved by the pope, his lord paramount, nor by his own ſubjects, and died in 1434, leaving behind him an unfortunate family, whom Charles VIII. deprived of a throne which he could not keep; and whom he afterwards, to his own misfortunes, continued to perſecute.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

Of the Conqueſt of NAPLES. Of ZIZIM, brother to BAJAZET II. Of Pope ALEXANDER VI. &c.

CHARLES VIII. his council, and his young courtiers were ſo intoxicated with the project of conquering the kingdom of Naples, that they reſtored to Maximilian, Artois and the Franche Comté, which had been taken from his wife; and returned Cerdagne and Rouſſillon, to Ferdinand the Catholic, with the remiſſion of three hundred thouſand crowns, which he owed, on condition that he ſhould not interrupt the progreſs of the war. In this they never reflected, that twelve villages added to a ſtate, are of greater value than a kingdom ſituated at four hundred leagues diſtance from it. They committed likewiſe another error in truſting to the catholic king.

com-

At length Charles VIII. entered Italy: he undertook this expedition with only 1494.
ſixteen hundred men at arms, who with their archers, made a ſquadron of five thouſand horſemen, heavily armed; two hundred gentlemen of his guard, five hundred light horſe, ſix thouſand French foot, and the like number of Swiſs; and ſo badly provided with money, that he was obliged to borrow upon his march, and even to pledge the jewels which had been lent him by the dutcheſs of Savoy. Nevertheleſs, this army produced conſternation and ſubmiſſion wherever it came. The Italians were amazed to ſee ſuch heavy artillery drawn by horſes, they having only been accuſtomed to ſmall braſs culverins drawn by oxen. The Italian gendarmerie was compoſed of ſpadaſſins or bravos, who hired themſelves at an extravagant price to the condottieri, who ſold their ſervices at a ſtill more exorbitant rate to thoſe princes who ſtood in need of their dangerous aſſiſtance. Theſe chiefs took ſuch names as were moſt likely to ſtrike terror into the ignorant people, ſuch as *taille-cuiſſe, fier-à bras fracaſſe*, or *ſacripend*. i. e. Slaſh-thigh, Arm-ſtrong, Havock, &c. They were all afraid of loſing their men, therefore only purſued the enemy, and never came to blows: thoſe who kept the field were the conquerors. Indeed, in theſe times there was much more blood ſhed in private revenge, among citizens, and in conſpiracies, than in battle. Machiavel tells us, that in one of the battles fought at this time, there was only one horſeman killed, and he was trod to death by the croud.

The proſpect of a ſerious war, therefore, filled them with dread, and not one dared to appear. Pope Alexander VI. the Venetians, and Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, endeavoured to throw obſtacles in his way as ſoon as he entered it. Peter de Medicis, who was obliged to aſk his protection, was for ſo doing expelled the republic, and retired to Venice, from whence he never dared to venture forth, though aſſured of the king's protection; which he did not think ſufficient to ſecure him againſt the private revenge of his countrymen.

The king entered the city of Florence as its lord, and delivered Sienna from the Tuſcan yoke, to which it was ſoon afterwards again obliged to ſubmit. He then marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. in vain intrigued againſt him, and he entered that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo, but as ſoon as he ſaw the French cannon pointed againſt thoſe feeble ramparts, he capitulated, and craved for mercy.

1494 It coſt him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The preſident Briſſonet, who from a lawyer was become an archbiſhop, perſuaded the king to this accommodation, by which he gained the purple. A king is often well ſerved by his ſubjects who are cardinals, but ſeldom by thoſe who are in purſuit of that dignity. The king's confeſſor was likewiſe in the ſecret. Charles, whoſe intereſt it was to have depoſed the pope, forgave him, and repented of it afterwards; and certainly never pontiff more deſerved the indignation of a Chriſtian prince. He and the Vene-

Venetians had applied to the Turkiſh ſultan Bajazet II. ſon and ſucceſſor to Mahomet II. to aſſiſt them in driving Charles VIII. out of Italy. It was even aſſerted that this pope had ſent Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the Ottoman Porte, and that this alliance between the pope and the ſultan was purchaſed by one of thoſe inhuman murders which are not committed without horror even in the ſeraglio of Conſtantinople.

The pontiff, by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his poſſeſſion the perſon of Ziaim, or Gem, the brother of Bajazet. The manner in which this ſon of Mahomet II. fell into the hands of the pope is as follows:

Zizim, who was adored by the Turks, had diſputed the empire with Bajazet, who was as much hated by them: but notwithſtanding the young prince had the prayers of the people for him, he was defeated. In this diſgrace he had recourſe by an ambaſſador to the knights of Rhodes, now the knights of Malta. He was at firſt received by them as a prince to whom they ſtood bound in the laws of hoſpitality, and who might one day be of ſervice to them; but ſoon afterwards they treated him as their priſoner. Bajazet paid theſe knights forty thouſand ſequins per ann. not to ſuffer Zizim to return again to Turky. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanderies at Poitou, in France, called le Bourneuf. Charles VIII. had received at one time an ambaſſador from Bajazet, and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII. Alexander's predeceſſor, relating to this valuable captive. The ſultan claimed him as his ſub-

jeƈt, and the pope wanted to have poſſeſſion of his perſon, as a pledge of ſafety for Italy, againſt the attempts of the Turks. In the end, Charles ſent Zizim to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the ſplendor and magnificence which the ſovereign of Rome could ſhew to the brother of the ſovereign of Conſtantinople. They would have obliged Zizim to kiſs the pope's feet; but Boſſo, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole, aſſures us, that the Turk rejected this mark of ſubmiſſion with indignation. Paul Jovius ſays, that Alexander VI. ſold Zizim's life in a treaty he made with Bajazet. The king of France, full of his vaſt projects, and certain of the conqueſt of Naples, wanted to become formidable to Bajazet, by having the perſon of this unhappy brother in his power. The pope, according to Paul Jovius, delivered him to Charles, but poiſoned. It is not clearly determined whether this poiſon was given him by one of the pope's domeſtics, or by a ſecret emiſſary of the grand ſeignor. It was however publicly declared that Bajazet had promiſed the pope three hundred thouſand ducats for his brother's head.

Prince Demetrius Cantemir ſays, that according to all the Turkiſh annals, Zizim was murdered by his barber, who cut his throat, and that, in recompence, Bajazet afterwards made this barber his grand vizir. It is hardly probable that they would have made a barber general and prime miniſter. If Zizim had been murdered after this manner, Charles VIII. who ſent his body to his brother, muſt certainly have diſcovered the nature of his death: and the writers of thoſe times would have made men-

mention of it: therefore prince Cantemir, and the accuſers of Alexander VI. may be equally deceived. The public, thro' hatred to this pontiff, imputed to him all the crimes that poſſible for him to commit.

The pope having taken an oath not to diſturb the king in his conqueſts, was ſet at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public conſiſtory, the king appeared to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, aſſiſted by John de Gannai, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, who certainly ought to have been elſewhere than at ſuch a ceremony. The king then kiſſed the feet of the perſon whom two days before he would have condemned as a criminal; and, to compleat the ſcene, he ſerved the pope at high maſs. Guicciardin, a cotemporary writer of great credit, aſſures us, that in the church the king ſate below the cardinal dean. We muſt not therefore be ſurpriſed that cardinal de Bouillon, dean of the ſacred college, has in our time, upon the authority of theſe ancient cuſtoms, expreſſed himſelf thus, in a letter to Lewis XIV. "I am going to take poſſeſſion of the firſt ſeat in the chriſtian world, next to the ſupreme."

Charlemagne had cauſed himſelf to be declared in Rome emperor of the Weſt. Charles VIII. was in the ſame city declared emperor of the Eaſt, but after a very different manner. One Paleologus, nephew to him who had loſt the empire and his life, made an empty ceſſion in favour of Charles VIII. and his ſucceſſors, of an empire which could no longer be recovered.

After

After this ceremony Charles continued his progreſs towards Naples. On this occaſion, Alphonſo II. the new king, who was as much hated by his ſubjects as his father had been, being ſtruck with dread at the approach of the French army, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and puſillanimity. He fled privately to Meſſina, where he entered into the order of the Olivetian monks. His ſon Fernando, who became king upon his abdication, not being able to retrieve the public affairs, now rendered deſperate by this raſh action of his father's, and finding himſelf forſaken by his people, releaſed them from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the ſmall iſland of Iſchia, about eighteen miles diſtant from Naples.

1494 Charles being thus left maſter of the kingdom, and arbiter of Italy, made his entry into the city of Naples as a conqueror, without having hardly ſtruck a blow: and now he aſſumed the premature titles of Auguſtus and emperor; for at this time almoſt all Europe was ſecretly endeavouring to prevent him from keeping the crown of Naples; and the pope, the Venetians, Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, and Iſabella of Caſtile, entered into a league together for that purpoſe. Charles ought to have foreſeen this confederacy, and to have been in a condition to oppoſe it. He ſet out on his return for France juſt five months after his leaving it; and ſo great was his blindneſs, his contempt for the Neapolitans, or rather his weakneſs, that he left only five thouſand French behind him to preſerve his new conqueſts.

As he was upon his march back, he fell in with the confederate army of thirty thouſand men, near the village of Fornova in Placentia, rendered famous by that day's action. He had not above eight thouſand men with him. If he was beaten, he loſt his liberty or his life; if he conquered, he only gained the advantage of a retreat. He now gave a proof of what he might have done in this expedition, had his prudence been equal to his courage. The Italians ſoon fled before him: In this engagement he did not loſe above two hundred men, while the loſs of the allies amounted to above four thouſand. Such is in general the advantage which a diſciplined army, though ſmall in number, headed by their king, has over a raw and mercenary multitude. The Venetians reckoned as a victory the having plundered a part of the king's baggage; and carried his tent in triumph into their own country. Charles VIII. conquered only to ſecure his return to his kingdom; and left one half of his little army at Novarra, in the dutchy of Milan, where the duke of Orleans was quickly beſieged.

The confederates might have attacked him a ſecond time with great advantage; but they did not dare. "There is no withſtanding, ſaid they, *la furia Franceſe.*" The French did exactly that in Italy which the Engliſh had done in France. They conquered with inferiority of numbers, and they loſt their conqueſts.

While the king was at Turin every one was ſurpriſed to hear the chamberlain of pope Alexander VI. order the king of France, in his maſter's name, inſtantly to withdraw his troops from the territories

territories of Milan and Naples, and repair to Rome to give an account of his conduct to the holy father, under pain of excommunication. This bravado would have been a ſubject of laughter, had not this pontiff's conduct in other reſpects furniſhed too ſerious matter of complaint.

The king at length returned to France, where he ſhewed as much remiſſneſs in preſerving his conqueſts, as he had diſcovered eagerneſs in making them. Frederic, the uncle of Fernando the dethroned king of Naples, who became titular king after the death of his nephew, recovered the whole of his kingdom in leſs than a month's time, by the help of Gonſalvo of Cordova, called the Great Captain, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had ſent at that time to his aſſiſtance.

The duke of Orleans, who ſoon after ſucceeded to the crown of France, was glad to be ſuffered to depart quietly from Novarra. At length there remained not the leaſt trace of this torrent which had overſpread Italy; and Charles VIII. whoſe glory had been ſo tranſient, 1497 died without iſſue at the age of twenty-eight; leaving his ſucceſſor Lewis XII. to follow his example, and to repair his errors.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

OF SAVONAROLA.

BEFORE we proceed to examine how Lewis XII. maintained his rights in Italy, what became of that fine country rent by ſo many factions and diputed by ſo many powers, and in what manner the popes formed that extenſive ſtate of which they are at preſent in poſſeſſion, we owe ſome attention to an extraordinary fact which at that time exerciſed the credulity of all Europe, and diſplayed the full power of fanaticiſm.

There was at Florence a Dominican named Jeronymo Savonarola, who was one of thoſe church-orators who think that a talent for ſpeaking in the pulpit qualifies them for governing the nation, and one of thoſe divines who, becauſe they can explain the Apocalypſe, think they are become prophets. He directed, he preached, he heard confeſſions, he wrote; and living in a free city, which was conſequently filled with factions, he aimed at becoming the head of the people.

As ſoon as it was known to the principal citizens of Florence that Charles VIII. meditated a deſcent upon Italy, this man took upon him to foretel it; and the people therefore believed him inſpired. He inveighed againſt pope Alexander VI. he encouraged ſuch of his countrymen as perſecuted the family of Medicis, and bathed their hands in the blood of the friends to that houſe. No man had ever been in greater

greater degree of credit with the common people of Florence. He was become a kind of tribune amongſt them, by having procured the artificers to be admitted into the magiſtracy. The pope and the Medicis family fought Savonarola at his own weapons, and ſent a Franciſcan friar to preach againſt him. There ſubſiſted a more mortal hatred between the two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, than between the Guelphs and Gibellines. The cordelier ſucceeded ſo well, that he rendered his antagoniſt, the Dominican, odious. The two orders now let looſe all the fury of invective againſt each other. At laſt a Dominican friar offered to undergo the trial of fire in vindication of Savonarola's ſanctity. This was anſwered by a Franciſcan friar, who offered to undergo the ſame trial to prove Savonarola an impoſtor and a profligate wretch. The people, eager for this ſpectacle, cried aloud for its being put in execution, and the magiſtracy was obliged to give orders for it. Every one had at that time freſh in mind the old fabulous ſtory of the monk Aldrobrandin, ſurnamed *Petrus igneus*, or Peter the fiery, who, in the eleventh century, paſſed through two flaming piles of wood *; and the partizans of Savonarola made not the leaſt doubt that God would do as much for a Jacobine friar as he had heretofore done for a Benedictine. The contrary faction entertained the like hopes in behalf of the cordelier.

At length the fires were lighted, and the two

* See Chap. xxxv. Vol. I.

cham-

champions appeared in the midſt of an innumerable croud of ſpectators. But when they came to take a cool view of the two piles in flames, they both began to tremble, and their fears ſuggeſted to them a common evaſion. The Dominican would not enter the pile without the hoſt in his hand, and the cordelier pretended that this was no article of the agreement. Both were obſtinate, and mutually aſſiſted each other in getting over this falſe ſtep. In ſhort, they did not exhibit the ſhocking farce they had propoſed.

The people upon this, ſtirred up by the Franciſcan party, would have ſeized upon Savonarola; and the magiſtracy ordered him to quit the city: but although he had the pope, the Medicis family, and the people, all againſt him, he refuſed to obey; upon which he was ſeized, and put to the torture ſeven times. By the extract of his confeſſion we learn, that he acknowledged himſelf to be a falſe prophet and an impoſtor, who abuſed the ſecrets of confeſſion, and thoſe which were revealed to him by the ſociety. Could he do otherwiſe than own himſelf an impoſtor? Is not every one who enters into cabals, under pretence of being inſpired, an impoſtor? Perhaps he was moreover a fanatic. The human imagination is capable of uniting theſe two extremes, which appear ſo contradictory. If he had been condemned only thro' a motive of juſtice, a priſon and ſevere penance had been ſufficient puniſhments; but the ſpirit of party had a ſhare in his ſufferings. In ſhort, he was ſentenced, with two other Dominicans, to ſuffer in thoſe flames which

1498 May 23. which they had boaſted to encounter. However, they were ſtrangled before they were thrown into the fire. Savonarola's party did not fail to attribute a number of miracles to him after his death, the laſt ſhift of thoſe who have been attached to an unfortunate chief. We muſt not forget that Alexander VI. after he was condemned, ſent him a plenary indulgence.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

Of PICO DE LA MIRANDOLA.

AS the adventure of Savonarola ſhews to what an height ſuperſtition was ſtill carried, the diſputations of the young prince of Mirandola may convince us of the flouriſhing ſtate of the ſciences in thoſe times. Theſe two different ſcenes paſſed at Florence and Rome among people then accounted the moſt ingenious in the world. From hence we may readily infer what darkneſs hung over the other nations of the earth, and how ſlow human reaſon is in its formation.

It will always be a proof of the ſuperiority of the Italians in thoſe times, that John Francis Pico de la Mirandola, a ſovereign prince, was from his earlieſt years a prodigy of learning and memory *. Had he even lived in our days,

* Such another prodigy of learning appeared about the latter end of the ſixteenth century, in the perſon of James Creighton,

days, he would have been eſteemed a miracle of real erudition: He had ſo ſtrong a paſſion for the ſciences, that at length he renounced his principality, and retired to Florence, where he died in the year 1494, on the very day that

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Creighton, a native of Scotland, diſtinguiſhed abroad by the epithet *Creightonius*, or *Critonius mirabilis*. He was related to the royal family of Stuart, and as remarkable for the beauty of his perſon as the ſtrength of his genius. At the age of twenty-one he ſpoke ten languages fluently; underſtood philoſophy, theology, mathematics, and the belles lettres; played excellently on ſeveral muſical inſtruments; excelled in the exerciſes of riding, dancing, and fencing; was modeſt in his deportment, affable in his carriage, brave to a degree of heroiſm, and liberal above his circumſtances. His country being involved in troubles on the ſcore of religion, he went abroad, repaired to Venice, from whence he removed to Padua, where he engaged the admiration of the moſt learned doctors, in private companies as well as public diſputations: for, he ſupported public theſes in all the ſciences, and was looked upon as another Pico de Mirandola. At length, he went to Mantua at the requeſt of the duke William de Gonzaga, to ſuperintend the education of his ſon Vincent, who proved himſelf a wretch deſtitute of honour, courage, and humanity. Rankling with envy at the ſuperior accompliſhments of Creighton, he, during the carnival, went forth at night with two aſſaſſins, and attacked his governor, whom he found playing on the guitarre in the ſtreet. Creighton, thus aſſaulted, drew his ſword, and defended himſelf ſo gallantly againſt all three, that the two aſſaſſins betook themſelves to flight. Then he puſhed the prince ſo hard, that he had no other way of ſaving his life but pulling off his maſque. The governor no ſooner recognized the face of his pupil than he begged pardon on his knee, and preſented his ſword to Vincent, who, like a perfidious coward, and ungrateful villain, plunged it into his heart; thus, by an almoſt unparalelled act of treachery, depriving the world of one of its greateſt ornaments, who fell univerſally regretted in the twenty-ſecond year of his age.

Charles

Charles VIII. made his entry into that city. It is ſaid, that at the age of eighteen he underſtood twenty-two different languges. This is certainly out of the ordinary courſe of nature. There is hardly any language which does not require above a year to learn it perfectly: therefore a young perſon, who, at ſo early an age as eighteen, knows two and twenty, muſt be ſuſpected of underſtanding them very imperfectly, or of knowing only the elements at moſt, which is in fact knowing nothing at all.

It is ſtill more extraordinary, that this prince, having ſtudied ſo many languages, ſhould at the age of twenty-four, be able to maintain theſes at Rome on all the ſciences without excepting one. In the front of his works we meet with one thouſand four hundred general concluſions, on every one of which he offered to diſpute. Now in all this immenſe ſtudy and learning, a few elements of geometry, and the doctrine of the ſphere, are the only things which appear worthy of his great pains and application. All the reſt only ſerves to ſhew the genius of the times. We meet with the *ſummum* of St. Thomas, an abridgement of the works of Albert, ſurnamed the Great, and a mixture of divinity and peripateticiſm. Here we read that the angels are infinite *ſecundum quid*; and that animals and plants are formed *by a corruption animated by a productive virtue.* The whole is in this taſte, and indeed it is all that was taught in the univerſities of thoſe times. Thouſands of pupils had their heads filled with theſe chimæras, and continued to frequent, for forty or fifty years, the

the ſchools where they were taught. The knowledge of all other nations was as trifling. Thoſe who held the reins of government in the world were therefore very excuſable in being ignorant of them, and Pico of Mirandola very unhappy in having ſpent his life, and ſhortened his days, in the purſuit of theſe grave ſopperies.

The number of thoſe who, born with a real genius, cultivated by reading the beſt Roman authors, had eſcaped this general night of learning, were very inconſiderable after Dante and Petrarch, whoſe works were better adapted for princes, ſtateſmen, women, and men of fortune, who only ſeek for an agreeable amuſement in reading; and theſe would have been more proper for the prince of Mirandola than the compilations of Albert the Great.

But he was carried away by a paſſion for univerſal knowledge; and this univerſal knowledge conſiſted in knowing by heart a few words upon every ſubject, which conveyed no kind of idea. It is difficult to comprehend how the ſame man who reaſoned ſo juſtly and with ſo much nicety upon the affairs of the world, and their ſeveral intereſts, could be ſatisfied with ſuch unintelligible jargon in almoſt every thing elſe. The reaſon perhaps is, that mankind are fonder of appearing to know ſomething, than to ſeek after knowledge; and when error has gotten the maſtery of our minds during our tender age, we are at no pains to ſhake off its yoke, but rather ſtrive to ſubject ourſelves more to it. Hence it comes that ſo many men of real diſcernment and genius are ſo frequently under the dominion of popular errors.

Pico

Pico de la Mirandola wrote indeed againſt judicial aſtrology; but then, let us not miſtake, it was only againſt the aſtrology practiſed in his time. He allowed of another kind, which, according to him, was the moſt ancient and true, and which he ſaid had been neglected.

In his firſt propoſition he expreſſes himſelf thus: "Magic, ſuch as is now practiſed, and which is condemned by the church, cannot be founded on truth, becauſe it depends on thoſe powers which are enemies to truth." Now by theſe very words, contradictory as they are, it is evident that he admitted magic to be the work of devils, which was the general received opinion concerning it. Accordingly he affirms that there is no virtue in heaven or on earth but what a magician can make ſubſervient to his purpoſes: and he proves that words are of efficacy in magic, becauſe God made uſe of ſpeech in arranging the ſeveral parts of the univerſe.

Theſe theſes made more noiſe, and were in greater reputation at thoſe times, than the diſcoveries of Newton, or the inveſtigation of the great Locke in our days. Pope Innocent VIII. cauſed thirteen propoſitions of this great body of doctrine to be cenſured; a cenſure which reſembled the deciſions of thoſe Indians who condemned the opinion of the earth's being ſupported by a dragon, becauſe, according to them, none but an elephant was able to ſupport it. Pico de la Mirandola drew up an apology for his propoſitions, in which he complains of thoſe who had cenſured him, and ſays, that being in company with one of them, who was inveighing bitterly againſt the cabala, he aſked him if he knew

knew what was meant by the word cabala. A pretty queſtion truly! anſwered the ſchoolman; does not every body know that he was an heretic, who wrote againſt Jeſus Chriſt?

At length it became neceſſary for pope Alexander VI. who at leaſt had the merit of deſpiſing theſe frivolous diſputes, to ſend him his abſolution. It is remarkable that he acted in the ſame manner by Pico de la Mirandola and Savonarola.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Of Pope ALEXANDER VI. and LEWIS XII. of FRANCE.

POPE Alexander VI. was at that time engaged in two great deſigns, one was to reſtore to the pontifical demeſnes, the many territories which it was pretended they had been deprived of, and the other to procure a crown for his ſon Cæſar Borgia. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not in the leaſt impair his authority, and the people of Rome raiſed no ſeditions againſt him. He was publicly accuſed of a criminal correſpondence with his own ſiſter Lucretia, whom he took away from three huſbands, ſucceſſively; the laſt of whom (Alphonſo of Arragon) he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, that he might beſtow her in marriage on the heir of the houſe of Eſte. Theſe nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the moſt infamous diverſions that debauch had ever in-

vented for the confuſion of modeſty. Fifty courtezans danced naked before this inceſtuous family, and prizes were given to thoſe who exhibited the moſt laſcivious motions. The duke of Gandia, and Cæſar Borgia, at that time archbiſhop of Valentia in Spain, and cardinal, were ſaid to have publicly diſputed the favours of their ſiſter Lucretia. The Duke of Gandia was aſſaſſinated in Rome, and Cæſar Borgia was ſuſpected as the author of his death. The perſonal eſtates of the cardinals belong at their deceaſe to the pope, and Alexander was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having haſtened the death of more than one member of the ſacred college, that he might become their heir; notwithſtanding all which the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendſhip was ſought by all the potentates of Europe.

Lewis XII. king of France, who ſucceeded Charles VIII. was more earneſt than any other in ſeeking an alliance with Alexander: he had more reaſons than one for this; he wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of Lewis XI. with whom he had conſummated his marriage, and lived in wedlock for above two and twenty years, but without having had any children. No law, excepting the law of nature, could authoriſe ſuch a ſeparation; and yet diſguſt and policy made it neceſſary.

Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII. ſtill retained that inclination for Lewis XII. which ſhe had felt for him when duke of Orleans; and unleſs he married her, Brittany would be for ever loſt to the crown of France. It was an antient but dangerous cuſtom to apply to the court of Rome for permiſſion to

marry a relation, or to put away a wife; for theſe kind of marriages or divorces having become neceſſary to the ſtate, the tranquility of a kingdom conſequently depended upon the pope's manner of thinking; and the popes were frequently enemies to France.

The other reaſon which united Lewis XII. to Alexander VI. was the deſire he had to defend his fatal claim to the dominions of Italy. Lewis claimed the dutchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, who was a ſiſter of a Viſconti, who had been in poſſeſſion of that principality; but this claim was oppoſed by the excluſive right granted to Lewis the Moor by the emperor Maximilian, who had likewiſe married Lewis's niece.

The public feudal law was ſo changeable, that it could only be interpreted by the law of force. This dutchy of Milan, the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, was a fief of the empire, and it had not been determined whether it was a male or female fief, or whether the daughters had a right of inheritance. The grandmother of Lewis XII. who was daughter to Viſconti duke of Milan, had by her marriage-contract only the county of Aſti. This marriage-contract proved the cauſe of all the miſeries of Italy, the diſgraces of Lewis XII. and the misfortunes of Francis I. Almoſt all the Italian ſtates were thus fluctuating in uncertainty, unable either to recover their liberty, or to determine what maſter they were to belong to.

The claim of Lewis XII. on Naples was the ſame as that of Charles VIII.

Cæſar Borgia, the pope's baſtard, was charged with the commiſſion of carrying the bull of divorce to France, and negotiating with the king on the meaſures relating to this conqueſt. Borgia did not leave Rome till he was aſſured of the dutchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a penſion of twenty thouſand livres, all which Lewis granted him, together with his promiſe to procure for him the king of Navarre's ſiſter. Cæſar Borgia then, notwithſtanding his being a deacon and archbiſhop, changed his eccleſiaſtical character for a ſecular one; and the pope, his father, granted a diſpenſation at one and the ſame time to his ſon to quit the church, and to the king of France to quit his wife. Matters were quickly agreed upon, and Lewis prepared for a freſh invaſion of Italy.

In this enterprize he had the Venetians on his ſide, who were to have a ſhare in the ſpoils of the Milaneſe. They had already taken Breſſan and the country of Bergamo, and aimed at nothing leſs than the poſſeſſion of Cremona, to which they had as much right as to Conſtantinople.

The emperor Maximilian, whoſe buſineſs it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vaſſal, againſt France, his natural enemy, was not at that time in a condition to aſſiſt him in perſon. He could with difficulty make head againſt the Swiſs, who had effectually driven the Auſtrians out of all the places they had been poſſeſſed of in their country. Maximilian therefore acted upon this occaſion the feigned part of indifference.

Lewis

Lewis XII. terminated amicably ſome diſputes he had with this emperor's ſon, Philip the Handſome, father to Charles V. afterwards ſovereign of the Low Countries; and this Philip did homage in perſon to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. This homage was received by Guy de Rochefort, chancellor of France, in the following manner: The chancellor ſeated and covered, held between his hands thoſe of the prince joined together, who, ſtanding uncovered, and without his ſword and girdle, pronounced theſe words: "I do homage to Monſieur the king, for my peerages of Flanders, Artois, &c."

Lewis having likewiſe renewed the treaties made with England by Charles VIII. and being now ſecure on all ſides, at leaſt for a time, made his army paſs the Alps. It is to be remarked, that when he entered upon this war, inſtead of encreaſing the taxes he diminiſhed them, and this indulgence firſt procured him from his ſubjects the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. But at the ſame time he ſold a number of the poſts called Royal offices, eſpecially thoſe in the finances. Would it not then have been better to have impoſed a regular and equal tax upon the people, than to have introduced a ſhameful venality in the poſts of that country, of which he pretended to be the father? This cuſtom of putting employs up to ſale came from Italy: in Rome they had for a long time ſold the places in the apoſtolic chamber, and it is but of late years that the popes have aboliſhed this pernicious cuſtom.

The army which Lewis XII. ſent over the Alps, was not more conſiderable than that with

which Charles VIII. had conquered Naples; but what muſt appear ſtrange is, that Lewis the Moor, tho' only duke of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and lord of Genoa, had an army altogether as ſtrong as that of the king of France.

1499 It was now ſeen for the ſecond time what the *Furia Franceſe* could do againſt Italian cunning. The king's army in twenty days time made itſelf maſter of the ſtate of Milan and of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona.

Lewis XII. after having conquered theſe beautiful provinces by his generals, made his entry into Milan, where he received the deputies from the Italian ſtates, as a perſon who was their ſovereign arbiter; but no ſooner was he returned to Lyons, than that negligence which almoſt always ſucceeds impetuoſity, loſt the French Milan, in the ſame manner as

1500 it had loſt them Naples. Lewis the Moor, during this tranſient reſtoration, payed a gold ducat for the head of every Frenchman brought to him. Then Lewis XII. made another effort, and ſent his general Lewis de la Trem ouille to repair the former overſights, who again entered the dutchy of Milan. The Swiſs, who ſince the death of Charles VIII. had made uſe of the liberty they had recovered, to diſpoſe of their ſervices to whomſoever would pay for them, were in great numbers among the ſoldiery of the French army, as well as in that of the Milaneſe. It is remarkable, that the dukes of Milan were the firſt princes who took the Swiſs into pay. Maria Sforza ſet this example to the reſt of the princes of Europe.

But

But on this occaſion ſome captains of this nation, which had hitherto reſembled ancient Sparta, in its liberty, equality, poverty, and courage, ſtained the honour of their country by their greedineſs of money. The duke of Milan had truſted the care of his perſon to theſe people, preferably to his Italian ſubjects; but they ſoon proved how unworthy they were of ſuch confidence, by entering into a compoſition with the French, and confining the duke in the city of Novarra; and all the favour he could procure at their hands, was to march out of the city with them in a Swiſs 1500 dreſs, and a halbert in his hand. In this diſguiſe he marched through the ranks of the French army; but thoſe who had ſo baſely ſold him quickly diſcovered him to the enemy, and he was taken priſoner and conducted to Pierre-en-Ciſe, and from thence to the ſame tower of Bourges where Lewis XII. had been himſelf confined when duke of Orleans *; from thence he was afterwards removed to Loches, where he lived for ten years, not ſhut up in an iron cage, as vulgar report has it, but treated with diſtinction, and allowed during the laſt years of his confinement to go any where within five league of the caſtle.

Lewis XII. now become maſter of Milan and Genoa, reſolved to get poſſeſſion of Naples alſo; but he feared that ſame Ferdinand the Catholic who had once before driven the French from that country.

Therefore as he had before joined with the Venetians for the conqueſt of Milan, and had

* See Chap. lxxxv.

given them part of the ſpoils, he now entered into an engagement of the ſame nature with Ferdinand, for the conqueſt of Naples, that prince preferring a ſhare in the ſpoils of his family to the honour of ſuccouring it; and by this treaty he divided with France the kingdom of Frederic, the laſt king of the baſtard-branch of Arragon. His catholic majeſty kept Apulia and Calabria to himſelf, and the reſt went to France.

Pope Alexander VI. the ally of Lewis XII. engaged in this conſpiracy againſt an innocent monarch, his feudatory, and granted to theſe two kings the inveſtiture he had before beſtowed upon the king of Naples. The catholic king ſent the ſame general Gonſalvo de Cordova to Naples under pretence of aſſiſting his relation, but in reality to overwhelm him. The French now invade the kingdom by ſea and land, and the Neapolitans were not accuſtomed to riſk their lives in defence of their kings.

1501 The unfortunate monarch betrayed by his own relation, preſſed by the French arms, and deſtitute of all reſource, choſe rather to put himſelf into the hands of Lewis XII. whom he looked upon as a generous enemy, than to truſt to the catholic king, who had behaved with ſuch perfidy towards him. Accordingly he demanded a paſſport from the French to leave his kingdom, and arrived in France with five galleys; there he lived upon a penſion granted him by the king, of one hundred and twenty thouſand livres, of our preſent money. Strange deſtiny for a ſovereign prince!

Lewis XII. then had at one time a duke of Milan for his priſoner, and a king of Naples, a ſol-

a follower of his court, and his penſioner. The republic of Genoa was one of his provinces; his people were moderately taxed, and his kingdom the moſt flouriſhing in the world, and wanted nothing but the induſtry of commerce and the reputation of the liberal arts, which, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, were the peculiar lot of Italy.

CHAP. XC.

The Villainies of the Family of ALEXANDER VI. and of CÆSAR BORGIA. Sequel of Affairs between LEWIS XII. and FERDINAND the CATHOLIC. Death of Pope ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER VI. effected that in a leſs degree, which Lewis XII. executed in the greater. He ſubdued the fiefs in Romania by the arms of his ſon; every thing ſeemed to conſpire to the aggrandizement of this ſon, who nevertheleſs had but little enjoyment of his good fortune, and laboured, without knowing it, for the church-patrimony.

There was not any one act of oppreſſion, artifice, heroic courage, or villainy, which Cæſar Borgia left unpractiſed. He made uſe of more art and dexterity to get poſſeſſion of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himſelf of a few noblemen that ſtood in his way, than Alexander, Gengis-Can, Tamerlane, or Mahomet, had done to ſubdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Indulgencies were ſold to raiſe

troops; and we are aſſured by cardinal Bembo, that, in the territories of Venice alone, there were as many diſpoſed of as amounted to one thouſand ſix hundred gold marks. The tenth penny was levied on all the revenues of the clergy, under pretence of a war againſt the Turks, when, inſtead of that, it was only to carry on a ſlight ſkirmiſh near the gates of Rome.

Firſt they ſeized upon the eſtates of the Colonnas and Savatelli, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Borgia next made himſelf maſter, partly by artifice, and partly by force, of Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Piombino, and in the courſe of theſe petty conqueſts, perfidy, aſſaſſination, and poiſon, were the chief arms he uſed. He demanded, in the name of the pope, troops and artillery from the duke of Urbino, which he employed againſt this very duke, and drove him out of his dominions. He drew the lord of Camerino to a conference, where he cauſed him to be ſtrangled, together with two of his ſons. He engaged, upon the ſurety of the moſt ſolemn oaths, four noblemen, viz. the dukes of Gravina, Oliverotto, Pagolo, and Vitelli, to come and treat with him near Senigallia, who fell into the ambuſh he had prepared for them; and Oliverotto and Vitelli were, by his orders, moſt inhumanly murdered. Could one ſuppoſe that Vitelli, when in the agonies of death, ſhould beſeech his murderer to obtain for him of the pope his father an indulgence *in articulo mortis?* and yet this is aſſerted by cotemporary writers. Nothing can better ſhew the weakneſs of mankind, and the force of perſuaſion. If Cæſar Borgia

Borgia had died before his father Alexander, of that poiſon which it is pretended they had prepared for the cardinals, and of which both of them drank by miſtake; if Borgia had been the firſt, I ſay, who had died on this occaſion, it would have been no matter of ſurprize to have heard him aſk a plenary indulgence of his father.

Alexander VI. at the ſame time apprehended the relations of theſe unfortunate noblemen, and had them ſtrangled in the caſtle of St. Angelo. What is truly deplorable is, that Lewis XII. the father of his people, countenanced theſe barbarities of the pope in Italy, and ſuffered him with impunity to ſhed the blood of theſe victims for the ſake of being aſſiſted by him in conquering Naples. Thus, what is called policy and the intereſt of the ſtate made him unjuſtly partial to Alexander. What a policy, what an intereſt of ſtate muſt that be, which led him to abet the oppreſſions of a man by whom he was ſoon afterwards betrayed himſelf!

It was the deſtiny of the French to conquer Naples, and to be again expelled from it. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had betrayed the laſt king of Naples, who was his relation, did not prove more faithful to Lewis XII. who was his ally, but ſoon entered into an agreement with pope Alexander, to deprive that prince of his ſhare in the partition.

Gonſalvo de Cordova, who ſo well merited the title of the Great Captain, though not of the good man, and who uſed to ſay that the web of honour ſhould be ſlightly wove, firſt deceived the French, and then conquered them.

It appears to me, that the French commanders have in general a greater ſhare of that courage which honour inſpires, than of the artifice neceſſary for conducting great affairs. The duke of Nemours, a deſcendant of Clovis, who was then at the head of the French army, challenged Gonſalvo to ſingle combat; Gonſalvo replied by defeating his army ſeveral times, eſpecially at Cerignola in Apulia, where
1503 Nemours himſelf was ſlain with four thouſand of his men. It is ſaid, that not above nine Spaniards were killed in this battle, an evident proof that Gonſalvo had made choice of an advantageous poſt, that Nemours wanted prudence, and that his ſoldiers were diſheartned. The famous chevalier Bayard, in vain ſuſtained alone, on a narrow bridge, the attack of two hundred of the enemy. His reſiſtance was glorious, but it anſwered no purpoſe.

In this war they firſt found out a new method of deſtroying mankind. Peter of Navarre, a ſoldier of fortune, and a great general among the Spaniards, diſcovered the uſe of mines, and made the firſt trial of them upon the French.

Notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, the kingdom of France was at that time ſo powerful, that Lewis XII. found himſelf able to ſend three armies at once into the field, and a large fleet to ſea. Of theſe three armies one was deſtined againſt Naples, and the two others for Rouſſillon and Fontarabia; but not one of them made any progreſs, and that ſent againſt Naples quickly met with an entire defeat. At length Lewis XII. loſt his ſhare of the kingdom of Naples beyond all recovery.

Soon

Soon after, Italy was delivered from pope Alexander VI. and his ſon. All 1503
hiſtorians have taken pleaſure in tranſmitting to poſterity that this pope died of the poiſon he had prepared for ſeveral cardinals, whom he had invited to an entertainment. An end ſuitable to his life!

But there ſeems very little probability in this ſtory. It is pretended, that being in urgent neceſſity of money, he wanted to inherit the eſtates of theſe cardinals; but it is proved that Cæſar Borgia carried away one hundred thouſand gold ducats out of his father's treaſury after his death, conſequently this want of money was not real. Beſides, how came this miſtake in the bottle of poiſoned wine, which is ſaid to have occaſioned this pope's death, and brought his ſon to the brink of the grave? Men who have been long converſant with crimes of this nature, leave no room for making ſuch miſtakes. No perſon is mentioned as having made this confeſſion; it would ſeem very difficult then to have come at the information. If when the pope died this had been known to be the cauſe of his death, thoſe who were intended to be poiſoned muſt have likewiſe come to the knowledge of it, and they would hardly have permitted Borgia to take quiet poſſeſſion of his father's treaſures. The people, who frequently hate their maſters, and muſt have held ſuch maſters in particular execration, though they might have been kept under during Alexander's life-time, would undoubtedly have broke out at his death, would have diſturbed the funeral obſequies of ſuch a monſter, and have torn his abominable ſon in pieces. In fine, the journal of the

the Borgia family ſays, that the pope at the age of 72 was attacked with a violent tertian, which ſoon turned to a continual fever, and proved mortal: this is not the effect of poiſon. It is ſaid moreover, that the duke of Borgia cauſed himſelf to be ſewed up in a mule's belly: I ſhould be glad to know to what ſort of poiſon a mule's belly is an antidote, and how this dying man could go to the Vatican, and fetch thence his father's money? Was he ſhut up in his mule when he carried it off?

It is certain, that after the pope's death there was a ſedition in Rome; the Colonnas and the Urſini entered it in arms. This then was the moſt proper time for accuſing the father and ſon of ſuch a crime. In fine, pope Julius II. who was the ſworn enemy of this family, and who had the duke of Borgia for a long time in his power, never imputed that to him which was ſo univerſally laid to his charge.

But, on the other hand, how happens it that cardinal Bembo, Guicciardin, Paul Jovius, Tomaſi, and ſo many other writers of thoſe times, all agree in this ſtrange accuſation? Whence ſuch a multitude of particular circumſtances? And why do they pretend to give the very name of the poiſon made uſe of upon this occaſion, which it ſeems was called Cantarella? To all this it may be anſwered, that it is no difficult matter to invent circumſtances in an accuſation, and that in one of ſo horrible a nature it was neceſſary to give the colouring of probability.

Alexander VI. left behind him a more deteſtable memory in Europe, than Nero or Caligula in the Roman empire; the ſanctity of his ſtation adding a double weight to his guilt. Nevertheleſs,

vertheleſs, Rome was indebted to him for her temporal greatneſs; and it was this pontiff who enabled his ſucceſſors to hold at times the balance of Italy.

His ſon loſt all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Almoſt all the cities which he had conquered, either by fraud or force, choſe another maſter as ſoon as his father died; and pope Julius II. obliged him ſoon after to deliver up the reſt, ſo that he had nothing left of all his wicked greatneſs. Every thing reverted to the holy ſee, who reaped more benefit from his wickedneſs than from the abilities of all its popes, aſſiſted by the arms of religion.

Machiavel pretends that he had ſo well concerted his meaſures, that he muſt have been maſter of Rome and the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate after the death of his father, but that it was impoſſible for him to foreſee that he himſelf ſhould be at the point of death at the very time that Alexander finiſhed his life.

In a very ſhort time he was abandoned by friends, enemies, allies, relations, and all the world; and he who had betrayed ſo many, was himſelf at length betrayed; Gonſalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, with whom he had truſted himſelf, ſent him priſoner to Spain. Lewis XII. took from him his dutchy of Valentinois, and his penſion. At length, having found means to eſcape from his priſon, he took refuge in Navarre. Courage, which is not a virtue, but a happy qualification, alike common to the wicked and the virtuous, did not forſake him in his diſtreſſes; and, while he was in his aſylum, he ſtill kept up to every part of his

his character, he carried on intrigues, and commanded in perſon the army of the king of Naverre, his father-in-law, during a war which that prince entered into at his advice to diſpoſſeſs his vaſſals of their eſtates, as he himſelf had formerly done by the vaſſals of the holy ſee. He was ſlain fighting. A glorious end! whereas, we ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory, lawful ſovereigns, and men of the ſtricteſt virtue, fall by the hand of the common executioner.

CHAP. XCI.

Sequel of the POLITICAL CONCERNS of LEWIS XII.

THE French might poſſibly have repoſſeſſed themſelves of Naples, as they had done of Milan; but the ambition of cardinal d'Amboiſe, prime miniſter to Lewis XII. was the occaſion of loſing that ſtate for ever. Chaumont d'Amboiſe, archbiſhop of Rouen, ſo much admired for having only a ſingle benefice, but who had at leaſt another in the kingdom of France, which he governed without controul, wanted one of a more elevated rank. He aimed at the papacy after the death of Alexander VI. and he muſt have been elected, had his politics been equal to his ambition. He was maſter of great treaſures. The army which was going to invade Naples was then at the gates of Rome: but the Italian cardinals perſuaded him to remove it to a greater diſtance, pretending that the election would by that

that means appear more free, and conſequently be of greater validity. He gave into the ſnare, drew off the army, and then cardinal Julian de la Rovere, cauſed Pius III. 1503 to be elected, who lived not quite a month to enjoy his new dignity. After his death cardinal Julian, called Julius II. was himſelf made pope, and the rainy ſeaſon coming on, prevented the French from paſſing the Garigliano, and favoured the operations of Gonſalvo of Cordova. Thus cardinal d'Amboiſe, who nevertheleſs paſſes for a wiſe man, loſt himſelf the tiara, and his maſter the kingdom of Naples.

A ſecond fault of another kind with which he is reproached is the unaccountable treaty of Blois, by which the king's council, with one ſtroke of a pen, mutilated and deſtroyed the French monarchy. By this treaty the king gave his only daughter, by Anne of Brittany, in marriage to the grandſon of the emperor, and Ferdinand the Catholic, his two greateſt enemies; this young prince was the ſame who afterwards proved the ſcourge and terror of France, and all Europe, by the name of Charles the fifth. Can it be ſuppoſed that he was to have in dowry with his wife all the entire provinces of Brittany and Burgundy, with an abſolute ceſſion on the part of France too, of all her rights to Milan and Genoa? and yet all this did Lewis XII. give away from his kingdom, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue male. There can be no excuſe for a treaty of ſo extraordinary a kind, unleſs by ſaying that the king and the cardinal d'Amboiſe had no intention to keep it, and that in ſhort Ferdinand had

had taught the cardinal the art of diſſimulation.

1506 Accordingly, we find that the general eſtates in an aſſembly held at Tours remonſtrated againſt this fatal ſcheme. Perhaps the king, who began to repent of what he had done, was artful enough to get his kingdom to demand that of him which he did not dare to do of his own accord; or perhaps he yielded to the remonſtrances of the nation from the pure dictates of reaſon. In fine, the heireſs of Anne of Brittany was taken from the heir of Auſtria and Spain, as her mother had been from the emperor Maximilian. She was then married to the count of Angouleſme, afterwards Francis I. and Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the crown of France, and was twice very near ſlipping through its hands, was now incorporated with it; and Burgundy likewiſe was ſtill preſerved.

Lewis XII. is accuſed of committing another error in joining in a league againſt his allies, the Venetians, with all their ſecret enemies. And it was an unheard-of event, that ſo many kings ſhould conſpire to deſtroy a republic, which not above three hundred years before, was a town of fiſhermen, who afterwards became illuſtrious and opulent merchants.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCII.

Of the League of CAMBRAY, and its Conſequences. Of Pope JULIUS II. &c.

POPE Julius II. who was a native of Savona, in the Genoeſe dominions, could not without indignation ſee his country under the French yoke. Genoa had lately made an effort to recover its ancient liberty, for which Lewis XII. puniſhed that republic with more oſtentation than rigour. He entered the city with his ſword drawn, and ordered all its charters to be burnt in his preſence. He afterwards cauſed a throne to be erected on an high ſcaffold, in the market-place, and obliged the principal citizens of Genoa to come to the foot of this ſcaffold, and there upon their knees to hear their ſentence which was only to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand gold crowns: he then built a citadel to awe the city, which he called the bridle of Genoa.

The pope, who, like the reſt of his predeceſſors, was deſirous to drive all foreigners out of Italy, endeavoured to ſend the French over the Alps again; but he was willing, in the firſt place, to get the Venetians to join with him, and that they ſhould begin by reſtoring to him ſeveral cities, to which the holy ſee had pretenſions, the greateſt part of which had been wreſted from their poſſeſſors by Cæſar Borgia, duke of Valentinois: and the Venetians, ever watchful of their intereſts, had immediately after the death of Alexander VI. ſeized upon the towns

towns of Rimini and Faenza, and ſeveral lands in Bologna, Ferrara, and the dutchy of Urbino: theſe conqueſts they were determined to keep. Julius II. then made uſe of the French to oppoſe the Venetians, whom he had before endeavoured to arm againſt the French: nor did he think the French alone ſufficient, but endeavoured to draw all the other powers of Europe into the league.

There was hardly one ſovereign who had not ſome demand on the territories of this republic. The emperor Maximilian had unlimited pretenſions as emperor; and beſides, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, the marche of Trevizana, and Friuli, lay convenient for him. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, might take back ſome ſea-port towns in Naples, which he had pledged to the Venetians. This would have been an eaſy way of paying off his debts. The king of Hungary had pretenſions to a part of Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy might alſo claim the iſland of Cyprus, in virtue of his alliance with the princes of that country, who were now extinct. The people of Florence likewiſe, as near neighbours, might come in for their ſhare in theſe demands.

1508 Almoſt all the powers who were at enmity with each other, ſuſpended their private diſputes to join in the general league ſet on foot at Cambray, againſt the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were ſo many kings in league againſt ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this reſource

ſhe

ſhe truſted, and that diſſention which ſhe wiſely judged would ſpeedily happen among ſo many confederates. It was in her power to appeaſe Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league: but ſhe diſdained to make any conceſſion, and dared the fury of the ſtorm. This was perhaps the only time the Venetians were raſh.

The pope began his declaration of war by excommunications, which at that time were held in more contempt at Venice than in any other nation whatever. Lewis XII. ſent an herald at arms to the doge to denounce war in form againſt him; at the ſame time he demanded the reſtitution of the territories of Cremona, which he himſelf had ceded to the Venetians when they aſſiſted him in retaking Milan, and moreover laid claim to Breſcia, Bergamo, and ſeveral other territories.

The rapid ſucceſs which had always accompanied the French army in the beginning of all their expeditions did not fail them in this. Lewis XII. at the head of his army routed the Venetian forces in the famous battle of Agnadello, fought near the river Adda. 1509 Immediately upon this victory every one of the confederates ſeized upon his pretended lot. Julius II. made himſelf maſter of all Romania. Thus the popes, who as we are informed by hiſtory, owed their firſt demeſnes to a French emperor, were now obliged to the victorious army of Lewis XII. king of France, for the reſt; and from that memorable day they became poſſeſſed of almoſt the whole of theſe territories which they at preſent occupy.

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The emperor's troops in the mean time advanced towards Friuli, and ſeized upon Trieſte, which has ever ſince remained in the houſe of Auſtria. The Spaniards laid hold of the Venetian poſſeſſions in Calabria; and even the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, who were formerly generals in the Venetian ſervice, had a ſhare in the general ſpoil. Venice now exchanged her fool-hardy courage for the deepeſt conſternation. She abandoned all her towns on the terra firma, releaſed Padua and Verona from their oath of allegiance, and reduced to her antient Lagunes, ſued for mercy to the emperor Maximilian, whoſe great ſucceſs made him inflexible.

And now pope Julius having fulfilled his firſt deſign, which was that of aggrandizing the ſee of Rome, on the ruins of Venice, began to think of the ſecond, which was to drive the barbarians, as they were called, out of Italy.

Lewis XII. was returned to France, where like Charles VIII. he remained as negligent in ſecuring his conqueſts as he had been eager to make them. The pope granted the Venetians his pardon, who, ſomewhat recovered from their firſt conſternation, continued to make head againſt the emperor.

At length Julius entered into a league with this republic againſt thoſe very French whom he had before invited to aſſiſt in oppreſſing it. His aim was to ruin all the foreign powers in Italy by the arms of each other, and to exterminate the ſmall remains of German authority yet left in that country, and to raiſe Italy to a reſpectable and powerful ſtate of which the

the ſovereign pontiff might be the chief. To compaſs his project he ſpared neither negociations, money, nor pains. He directed the war in perſon, he attended in the trenches, and braved death in all its ſhapes. He is blamed by moſt hiſtorians for his ambition and obſtinacy: but they ought to do juſtice to his conſummate courage, and the grandeur of his views.

A freſh error committed by Lewis XII. favoured the deſigns of Pope Julius. Lewis was fond of that oeconomy which is a virtue in a peaceable adminiſtration, but a vice in the proſecution of great undertakings.

By a miſtaken diſcipline the chief ſtrength of an army was at that time centered in the gendarmerie, who fought either on foot or on horſeback; and the French had never been at the pains to form a good body of infantry of their own, which however was very eaſy to be done, as experience has ſince ſhewn. The kings of France then always kept a body of German and Swiſs foot in their pay.

It is well known that the Swiſs infantry greatly contributed to the conqueſt of Milan. In this buſineſs they had not only ſold their lives, but even their honour, by betraying Lewis the Moor*. The Swiſs cantons now demanded an augmentation of pay from Lewis, which he refuſed to comply with. The pope took advantage of this conjuncture: he wheedled the Swiſs, he gave them money, and flattered them with the title of defenders of the church. He ſent emiſſaries amongſt them to preach againſt

* See Chap. lxxxix.

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the French: a people naturally of a warlike diſpoſition, ran in crouds to hear theſe ſermons. What was this but preaching up a cruſade?

It may have been obſerved, that through an unaccountable concurrence of circumſtances and conjunctures, the French were now become allies to the Germans, whoſe declared enemies they had been on ſo many former occaſions. Nay they were even their vaſſals; for Lewis XII. had purchaſed for one hundred thouſand gold crowns, the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Milan, of the emperor, who was neither a powerful ally nor a faithful friend, and who, as emperor, could not be ſuppoſed to love either the French or the pope.

Ferdinand the Catholic, whoſe dupe Lewis had always been, deſerted the league of Cambray as ſoon as he had gotten poſſeſſion of the places he claimed in Calabria. He had prevailed on the pope to grant him the full and entire inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples, who by this means bound him firmly in his intereſt; ſo that Julius, by his ſuperior ſkill in politics, gained over not only the Venetians, the Swiſs, and the kingdom of Naples, but alſo the Engliſh, while France was left to bear the brunt of the war alone.

1510 Lewis XII. upon being attacked by the pope, called an aſſembly of the biſhops at Tours, to know whether he might ſafely defend himſelf againſt the pontiff, and whether the excommunications of this latter would be valid. In theſe more enlightened days, we may be ſurpriſed that ſuch queſtions were thought neceſſary, but we ſhould conſider the

the prejudices of the times; and here I cannot forbear remarking the firſt caſe of conſcience which was propoſed in this aſſembly. The preſident put the queſtion, whether or no the pope had a right to declare war on an occaſion that did not relate to religion or the church patrimony; it was anſwered in the negative. Now it is plain, that the queſtion here propoſed was not that which ſhould have been aſked, and that the anſwer was contrary to what ſhould have been given: for in matters of religion or church poſſeſſions, a biſhop, if we believe the holy ſcriptures, ſhould be ſo far from making war, that he is only to pray and to ſuffer; but in a political affair, a pope not only may, but ought to aſſiſt his allies, and revenge the cauſe of Italy. Beſides, the pope made war at this time to increaſe the church demeſnes by the addition of Ferrara and Bologna, whoſe poſſeſſors were under the protection of France.

This French aſſembly made a more noble anſwer, when it reſolved to abide by the pragmatic ſanction of Charles VIII. to ſtop all future remittances to Rome, and to levy a ſubſidy on the clergy of France, for carrying on the war againſt the pope, the Roman head of theſe clergy.

The operations were begun on the ſide of Bologna and Ferrara. The pope laid ſiege to Mirandola *; and this pontiff, at the age of ſeventy, appeared in the trenches armed cap-a-pié, viſited all the works, haſtened the operations, and entered the breach in perſon.

† A fortified city of Modena in Italy.

1511 While the pope, worn out with age, was toiling under arms, the French king, ſtill in the prime of his vigour, was holding councils, and endeavouring to ſtir up the eccleſiaſtical powers of Chriſtendom, as the pope did the military ones. The council was held at Piſa, whither ſeveral cardinals who were the pope's enemies, repaired. But this council of the king's proved a fruitleſs undertaking, while the pope's warlike enterprizes met with ſucceſs.

They in vain cauſed medals to be ſtruck at Paris, in which Lewis XII. was repreſented with this device *perdam Babylonis nomen.* I will deſtroy even the name of Babylon. It was ſhameful to boaſt of what he was ſo little able to execute.

Heroic deeds, and even battles gained, may ſerve to render a nation famous, but can never increaſe its power while there is an eſſential error in the political adminiſtration, which at length muſt bring on its ruin. This is what happened to the French in Italy. The brave chevalier de Bayard acquired univerſal admiration by his courage and generoſity. Young Gaſton de Foix made his name immortal at the age of twenty-three, by repulſing a large body of Swiſs, paſſing with amazing ſpeed four rivers, beating the pope in Bologna, and gaining the famous battle of Ravenna, where he won immortal glory, and loſt his life. Theſe rapid exploits made a noble figure; but the king was at a great diſtance from his army: his orders came often too late, and were ſometimes contradictory. His parſimony at a time when he ought to have been laviſh in his rewards, checked

checked all emulation. Military diſcipline and ſubordination were unknown among his troops. The infantry was compoſed of German foreigners, who were mercenaries attached to no intereſt. The French gallantry, and that air of ſuperiority which belongs to conquerors, at once irritated the ſubjected Italians, and made them jealous. At length the fatal blow was ſtruck by the emperor Maximilian, who, gained over by the pope, publiſhed the imperial *evocatoria*, (or letters of recal) by which every German ſoldier, ſerving in the armies of France, was ordered to quit them under pain of being declared a traitor to his country.

The Swiſs at the ſame time came down from their mountains to fight againſt the French, who at the time of the League of Cambray had all Europe for their ally, and now beheld it up in arms againſt them. Theſe mountaineers made an honour of bringing with them the ſon of that Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, whom they had betrayed, to expiate in ſome meaſure the treachery they had been guilty of towards the father by crowning his ſon.

The French, who were commanded by the marechal Trivulce, were obliged to abandon, one after another, all the towns they had taken from the furthermoſt part of Romagna to the borders of Savoy. The famous Bayard made ſome fine retreats; but he was ſtill a hero obliged to fly. There were but three months between the victory of Ravenna and the total expulſion of the French from Italy: and Lewis XII. had the mortification to ſee young Maximilian Sforza, ſon to the deceaſed duke, who

had been a priſoner in his dominions, ſettled upon his father's throne by the Swiſs; and Genoa, where that prince had eſtabliſhed a kind of Aſiatic pomp of power, reſumed its liberty, and drove the French out of its territories.

The Swiſs, who from mercenaries to the French king, were now become his enemies, laid ſiege to the city of Dijon with twenty thouſand men. Paris itſelf was ſtruck with dread; and Lewis de la Tremouille, governor of the province of Burgundy, could not get rid of theſe invaders, without paying them twenty thouſand crowns in ready money, with a promiſe in the king's name of four hundred thouſand more, and giving ſeven hoſtages for the payment. Thus were the French obliged to pay dearer for the invaſion of theſe people than they would have done for their aſſiſtance. The Swiſs, enraged at not receiving the fourth part of the money ſtipulated, condemned the hoſtages to be put to death: upon which the king was obliged to promiſe not only to pay them the whole ſum agreed, but alſo to advance as much more. But the hoſtages having luckily made their eſcape, the king ſaved his money, but not his honour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCIII.

Sequel of the Affairs of LEWIS XII. of FERDINAND the Catholic, and of HENRY VIII. king of ENGLAND.

THIS famous league of Cambray, which was at firſt ſet on foot againſt the Venetians, was at length turned againſt France, and became particularly fatal to Lewis XII. We have already ſeen that there were two princes in Europe above the reſt, ſuperior in abilities to the French king, theſe were Ferdinand the Catholic and the pope. Lewis had made himſelf feared only for a ſhort time; and afterwards had all the reſt of Europe to fear.

While he was loſing Milan and Genoa, together with his money and his troops, he was moreover deprived of a barrier which France had againſt Spain. His ally and relation, John d'Albret, king of Navarre, ſaw his dominions in an inſtant ſeized upon by Ferdinand the Catholic. This robbery was covered with a religious pretext. Ferdinand pretended a bull from pope Julius II. excommunicating John d'Albret as an adherent of the French king, and the council of Piſa. The kingdom of Navarre has ever ſince continued in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, without ever having been rent from it.

The better to underſtand the politics of this Ferdinand, ſo remarkable for his continual profeſſions of religion and good faith, and his always breaking them, let us examine the

art he uſed in this conqueſt. The young king of England, Henry VIII. was his ſon-in-law. To him he propoſed a treaty of alliance, by which the Engliſh were to be reinſtated in Guienne, their ancient patrimony, from whence they had been expelled above a century. The young king, dazzled with this ſpecious promiſe, ſent a fleet and forces into the Bay of Biſcay, which Ferdinand employed in the conqueſt of Navarre; and afterwards left the Engliſh to return home without making the leaſt attempt upon Guienne, which indeed it was impracticable to invade. Thus he deceived his ſon-in-law, after having ſucceſſively impoſed upon the king of Naples, his relation, upon the Venetians, upon Lewis XII. and the Pope. His Spaniſh ſubjects gave him the titles of the Wiſe and the Prudent; in Italy he was called the Pious; and at Paris and London, the Treacherous.

1512

Lewis XII. who had provided ſufficiently for the ſecurity of Guienne, had not the ſame good fortune with regard to Picardy. The new king of England, Henry VIII. took advantage of the general diſtreſs to invade France on this ſide, into which he had always an eaſy acceſs through Calais, of which he was in poſſeſſion.

This young monarch, boiling with ambition and courage, attacked France alone, without the aſſiſtance either of the emperor Maximilian, of Ferdinand the Catholic, or any other of his allies. The old emperor, always enterpriſing and poor, ſerved without bluſhing in the king of England's army, for the daily pay of one hundred crowns. Henry, by his ſingle ſtrength, ſeemed in a condition to renew the fatal times

of

of Poitiers and Agincourt. He gained a complete victory at the battle of 1513
Guinegaſte, which is called the Battle of the Spurs. He took Terouane, which is no longer a town; and Tournay, a city which has been always incorporated with the kingdom of France, and the nurſery of that monarchy.

Lewis XII. who was at this time a widower, by the death of his wife, Anne of Brittany, could not purchaſe peace of Henry upon any other terms than thoſe of marrying his ſiſter, the princeſs Mary of England; but, inſtead of receiving a portion with his wife, which not only princes, but even private perſons are entitled to, Lewis was obliged to pay a dowry, and it coſt him a million of crowns to marry the ſiſter of his conqueror. Thus, after having been ranſomed both by the Engliſh and the Swiſs, duped by Ferdinand, and driven from his conqueſts in Italy, by the reſolution of pope Julius II. he ſoon afterwards finiſhed his 1515
inglorious career.

On account of the few taxes he laid upon his people, he was called their Father, a title he would otherwiſe have acquired, from the heroes with which France then abounded, had he by exacting the neceſſary contributions preſerved Italy, checked the inſolence of the Swiſs, properly ſuccoured Navarre, and driven back the Engliſh.

But if he was unfortunate abroad he was happy at home. No other fault can be laid to this prince's charge but that of ſelling the poſts in the ſtate; and this venality did not extend in his time to the officers of judicature. By this ſale of employments he raiſed, during the

ſeventeen years of his reign, the ſum of 1,200000 livres in the ſingle dioceſe of Paris. But then, on the other hand, the aids and taxes were very moderate. He ſhewed a fatherly affection for his people, by never loading them with heavy burthens; and did not look upon himſelf as ſovereign of France in the ſame manner as the lord of a fief is of his lands, merely to be furniſhed with ſubſiſtence from them. In his time there were no new impoſitions; and when Fromentau, in 1580, preſented to that extravagant prince, Henry III. a comparitive account of the ſums exacted during his reign, and thoſe which were paid to Lewis XII. there appeared in each article an immenſe ſum to be placed to the account of Henry, and a very moderate one to that of Lewis, ſuppoſing it to have been an ancient right belonging to the crown; but conſidered as an extraordinary tax, there remained nothing to be charged to Lewis: unhappily for the kingdom this account of what was exacted by Henry, and not paid to Lewis makes a large volume.

The whole of this king's revenue did not not exceed thirteen millions of livres; but theſe thirteen millions are about fifty millions of the preſent money. Commodities of all kinds were much cheaper than they are at preſent, and the kingdom was not in debt: it is not, therefore, ſo very ſurpriſing, that with this ſmall revenue in money, and a prudent oeconomy, he could live in ſplendor, and keep his people in plenty. He took care to have public juſtice diſtributed diligently, impartially, and almoſt without expence. The fees of courts were not then one fortieth part of what they are

are now. In the whole bailiwic of Paris there were at that time no more than forty-nine ſerjeants, or bailiffs, whereas there are at preſent five hundred. It muſt be allowed that Paris was not then the fifth part ſo large as it now is: but the number of the officers of juſtice is encreaſed in a much greater proportion than the extent of the city; and the evils, inſeparable from all great capitals, have encreaſed in this much more than the inhabitants.

He preſerved the cuſtom of the parliaments of the kingdom, to chuſe three candidates to fill up a vacant ſeat; the king nominated one out of theſe, and the dignities in the law were then only given to the counſellors, as a reward for their merit or reputation in their profeſſion. His ever-memorable edict of 1499, which ſhould never be forgotten in hiſtory, has made his memory dear to every lover and diſtributer of juſtice. By this edict he ordained, "That the law ſhould always be obſerved, notwithſtanding any orders contrary to law, which a ſovereign might be induced to iſſue thro' importunity."

The general plan, according to which you here ſtudy hiſtory, admits of but few details; but particular circumſtances, like theſe, upon which the welfare of ſtates depends, and which form ſo excellent a leſſon for princes, become one part of the principal object.

Lewis XII. was the firſt of our kings who protected the induſtrious labourer from the rapacious violence of the ſoldier, and puniſhed with death thoſe gendarmes who laid the peaſants under contribution. This coſt the lives of five or ſix gendarmes, and the country was at eaſe: therefore, if he was neither the

great hero, nor the profound politician, he at leaſt acquired the more valuable glory of being a good king; and his memory will continue to be bleſſed by all poſterity.

CHAP. XCIV.

Of ENGLAND, and the Troubles in that Kingdom, after its Invaſion of FRANCE. Of MARGARET of ANJOU, wife to HENRY VI. &c.

POPE Julius II. who in the midſt of the diſſentions which ſtill troubled Italy, continued firm to his deſign of driving thence all foreigners, had given the ſee of Rome a temporal power, to which it had hitherto been a ſtranger. Parma and Placentia were ſeparated from the dutchy of Milan, and annexed to the pope's dominions by the conſent of the emperor himſelf; and Julius ended his pontificate and his life with this act, which does honour to his memory. The popes, his ſucceſſors, have loſt this ſtate. The ſee of Rome was at that time a preponderating temporal power in Italy.

1513

Venice, tho' engaged in a war with Ferdinand the Catholic, as king of Naples, ſtill continued very powerful, and made head at once againſt both Mahometans and Chriſtians. Germany was at peace, and England began to grow formidable. We muſt enquire from whence ſhe ſet out, and whither ſhe arrived.

The

The malady of Charles VI. had ruined France, and the natural weakneſs of Henry VI. deſolated England.

In his minority his relations diſputed for the government, like thoſe of Charles VI. and overturned every thing to command in his name. As in Paris a duke of Burgundy cauſed a duke of Orleans to be aſſaſſinated, ſo in London, the dutcheſs of Gloceſter, the king's aunt, was accuſed of practiſing ſorcery againſt the life of Henry VI. A wretched woman fortune-teller and a fooliſh or knaviſh prieſt, who pretended to be magicians, were burned alive for this pretended conſpiracy; the dutcheſs thought herſelf happy in being only condemned to do penance in her ſhift, and confined in priſon for life. The ſpirit of philoſophy was then very diſtant from that iſland, which was the centre of ſuperſtition and cruelty. 1422

Moſt of the quarrels between ſovereigns have ended in marriages. Charles VII. gave Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI. ſhe was daughter to René of Anjou, king of Naples, duke of Lorraine, and count of Maine, who, with all theſe titles, was without dominions, and could not afford to give the leaſt portion with his daughter. Few princeſſes were more unhappy in a father and an huſband. She was a woman of an enterpriſing diſpoſition and unſhaken courage, and, but for one crime ſhe committed (which ſullied her virtues) ſhe might have paſſed for an heroine. She had all the talents of government, and all the virtues of war: but, at the ſame time, ſhe gave a looſe to the cruel actions which ambition, war, and faction inſpire. In a word, her 1444

boldneſs, and her huſband's puſillanimity, were the firſt cauſes of the public calamities which befel their kingdom.

1447 She had a deſire to govern, and to this end it was neceſſary to get rid of the duke of Gloceſter, the king's uncle, and huſband to that dutcheſs who had already fallen a ſacrifice to his enemies, and was confined by them in priſon. The duke was arreſted under pretence of being engaged in a new plot, and the next morning was found dead in his bed. This act of violence rendered both the queen's adminiſtration and the king's name odious to the Engliſh, who ſeldom hate without forming conſpiracies. There happened to be at that time in England a deſcendant of Edward III. who was nearer related to the common ſtock than the family on the throne. This was the duke of York. He bore for the device on his ſhield a white roſe; and Henry VI. who was of the houſe of Lancaſter, bore a red roſe. From hence came theſe two names ſo famous in the civil war.

Factions muſt ever in their beginnings be protected by a parliament, till this parliament becomes the ſlave to the conqueror.

1450 The duke of York accuſed the duke of Suffolk before the parliament; this duke was the queen's prime miniſter and favourite, theſe two titles had gained him the hatred of the nation. Here follows a ſtrange inſtance of the effects of party hatred. The court, to content the people, baniſhed this miniſter from the kingdom, who thereupon embarked on board a ſhip for France. The captain of a man of war

war met this ſhip at ſea, and enquiring what paſſengers they had on board, was anſwered by the maſter, that they were carrying the duke of Suffolk over to France. "You ſhall not carry a perſon impeached by my country out of the iſland," replied the captain; and immediately ordered him on board his own ſhip and ſtruck off his head. Thus did the Engliſh act in time of full peace *. The war which ſucceeded opened a ſcene of ſtill greater horrors.

Henry VI. was afflicted with an infirmity which rendered him for ſome years incapable of thinking or acting †. Thus Europe, in the courſe of this century, beheld three ſovereigns, who, from a diſorder in their brain, were plunged into the greateſt misfortunes; the emperor Winceſlaus, Charles VI. of France, and Henry VI. of England.

In one of theſe unhappy years of Henry's inſanity, the duke of York 1455 and his cabal made themſelves maſters of the council; the king recovering, as it were, from a long trance, opened his eyes and beheld himſelf deprived of all authority. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, exhorted him to be king; but, in order to be ſo, it was neceſſary to un-

* The Engliſh government and Engliſh nation are no more chargeable with this murder, than they are with any robbery committed on the high-way, in contempt of the law eſtabliſhed. The duke of Suffolk was ſeized by a deſperate partizan of the oppoſite faction, who cauſed him to be put to death without form of trial.

† Henry VI. had no other diſtemper but a weak head, which did not at all affect his bodily conſtitution, which was hale and vigorous.

ſheath

ſheath the ſword. The duke of York, who was expelled the council, was already at the head of an army. Henry was carried to fight a battle at St. Alban's, in which he was wounded and taken priſoner; but not then dethroned. The duke of York, his conqueror, carried him in triumph with him to London; and, leaving him the empty title of King, took to himſelf that of Protector, a title known before to the
1455 Engliſh.

Henry VI. who had frequent returns of his weakneſs and diſorder, was no other than a priſoner, ſerved with the exterior marks of royalty. His wife longed to ſet him at liberty, that ſhe herſelf might be free. Her courage was her greateſt misfortune; ſhe raiſed troops by the aſſiſtance of the noblemen in her intereſt, delivered her huſband from his confinement in London, and became herſelf the general of her army. Thus, within a ſhort ſpace of time, the Engliſh ſaw four French women at the head of armies, viz. the wife of the count of Montfort, in Brittany; Edward the ſecond's queen, in England; the maid of Orleans, in France; and this Margaret of Anjou.

1460 The queen herſelf drew up her army, and fought by her huſband in the bloody battle of Northampton. Her great enemy, the duke of York, was not in the oppoſite army; but his eldeſt ſon, the earl of March, ſerved his firſt apprenticeſhip to civil war under the earl of Warwick, the moſt famous man of his time; a genius born for thoſe days of tumult, full of artifice, and ſtill more replete with courage and pride, fit either to direct a campaign, or to lead in the day of battle; fruitful

ful in reſources, capable of every thing, and formed to give or take away crowns at his pleaſure. Warwick's ſtar prevailed again; Margaret of Anjou was defeated, had the grief to behold the king, her huſband, taken priſoner in his tent; and, while that unhappy monarch was calling to her with out-ſtretched arms, ſhe was obliged to ride off full ſpeed with her ſon the prince of Wales. Henry was a ſecond time reconducted to his capital by his conquerors, where he remained ſtill a king and a priſoner.

A parliament was now called; and the duke of York, who was before protector, demanded a new title. He claimed the crown as the repreſentative of Edward III. in preference to Henry VI. who was deſcended of a younger branch of that family. The cauſe of the real king, and of him who wanted to be ſuch, was ſolemnly debated in the houſe of peers, each ſide gave in their arguments in writing, as is done in a common cauſe. The duke of York, though the victor, could not carry his cauſe entirely. It was decided, that Henry VI. ſhould keep the crown during his lifetime; and that it ſhould devolve upon the duke of York after his death, by the excluſion of the prince of Wales. But a clauſe was added to this act, which proved a new declaration of war and tumults; namely, that if the king did any thing in violation of the ſaid act, the crown ſhould from that inſtant go to the duke of York.

Margaret of Anjou, tho' beaten, a wanderer at a diſtance from the king her huſband, and having for enemies the victorious duke of

York, the city of London, and the parliament, ſtill maintained her courage. She went thro' the principality of Wales and the neighbouring counties, animating her former friends, endeavouring to make new, and raiſing another army. It is well known that the armies of thoſe days did not conſiſt of regular troops, kept long in the field, and in the pay of a ſingle chief. Every nobleman brought with him what men he could pick up in haſte, who were maintained and paid by plunder; and it was neceſſary to come to an engagement ſpeedily, or retire. At length the queen, at the head of an army of 18000 men encountered her grand enemy the duke of York, in the county of that name, near the caſtle of Sandal. The fortune of that day anſwered her courage. The duke of York was defeated, and died of his wounds in the field; and his ſecond ſon, Rutland, was taken as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape. The father's head was fixed upon the town walls, together with thoſe of his generals, where they remained, a long time as monuments of his defeat.

1460

Margaret, at length victorious, marched to London to ſet the king her huſband at liberty. The earl of Warwick, who was the ſoul of York's party, was ſtill at the head of an army, carrying with him his king and captive. The queen and Warwick met near St. Alban's, a place famous for the many battles fought there. The queen had again the good fortune to conquer. She now enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing the formidable Warwick flying before her, and of reſtoring to her huſband, on the field of battle, his liberty and authority. Never

1461

had woman met with more ſucceſs, or acquired greater glory; but her triumph was ſhort. She ſtill wanted the city of London on her ſide, which Warwick had found means to ſecure ſo effectually, that when the queen preſented herſelf for admittance, it was refuſed her, and ſhe had not an army ſufficiently ſtrong to force it. The earl of March, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York, was in that city, and breathed nothing but revenge: in ſhort, after all her victories, the queen was obliged to retreat. She went into the north of England to ſtrengthen her party, which the name and preſence of the king greatly increaſed.

In the mean time Warwick, who had London at his command, aſſembled the 1461
citizens in a field near the city gates; and ſhewing them the duke of York's ſon, aſked them which they would chuſe for their king, that young prince, or Henry of Lancaſter? The general cry ſerved on this occaſion inſtead of an aſſent of parliament, as there was none ſitting at that time. Warwick, however, called together ſome few of the lords and biſhops, who came to a reſolution, that Henry of Lancaſter had infringed the former act of parliament, by his wife's having taken up arms for him.

The young duke of York, therefore, was proclaimed king in London, by the name of Edward IV. while his father's head ſtill remained fixed upon the walls of York, as that of a traitor. Henry VI. was now deprived of his crown, who, when in his cradle, was proclaimed king of England and France, and had ſwayed the ſceptre for thirty-eight years, without

out having ever been reproached with a crime, but that of imbecility.

His wife, who was then in the north of England, upon receiving this news, haſtily aſſembled an army of 60000 men. This was a prodigious effort. This time, however, ſhe hazarded neither her huſband's perſon, her ſon's, or her own. Warwick led his new-made king with an army of 40000 men to give battle the queen. They met at Santon *, near the river Aire, on the borders of York-
1641 ſhire, when there was fought the moſt bloody battle that had ever contributed to depopulate England. The writers of thoſe times tell us, that there fell no leſs than 36000 on that day. Warwick gained a compleat victory, by which young Edward was eſtabliſhed on the throne, and Margaret of Anjou was left the outcaſt of fortune. After the defeat ſhe fled into Scotland with her huſband and ſon, leaving Edward at full liberty to act as he pleaſed, who immediately took his father's head, and thoſe of his followers down from the city walls, placing in their room, thoſe of his enemy's generals whom he had taken priſoners. England thus became a vaſt theatre of blood and human ſlaughter; and ſcaffolds were raiſed in every part of the field of battle.

* This battle was fought between Towton and Saxton.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCV.

Of EDWARD IV. Of MARGARET of ANJOU, and of the Murder of HENRY VI.

THE intrepid Margaret ſtill preſerved her courage. Finding herſelf deceived in the ſuccours ſhe expected from Scotland, ſhe croſſed over to France, through the midſt of the enemy's ſhips, which almoſt covered the ſea, and applied for aſſiſtance to Lewis XI. who had juſt begun his reign. Through a miſtaken policy, he refuſed to grant her requeſt, but even this did not daunt her: ſhe borrowed money and ſome ſhips, and at length obtained five hundred men, with which ſhe reimbarked, and in her return to England met with a violent ſtorm, which ſeparated the veſſel ſhe was in from the reſt of her ſmall fleet: at length however ſhe landed in England, where ſhe gathered together an army, and once more dared the fortune of war. She was no longer ſo careful of her own perſon, nor of thoſe of her huſband and ſon. She riſked another battle at Hexham, which ſhe loſt as ſhe had done ſo many others. After this defeat ſhe remained wholly without reſource; the king her huſband fled one way, and ſhe with her ſon another, without ſervants or aſſiſtance, and expoſed to every kind of accident and ill-treatment. Henry fell into the hands of his enemies, who conducted him to London in an ignominious manner, and confined him in the Tower. Margaret had the good fortune to eſcape into France with her ſon, and took refuge with her father René 1462

of

of Anjou, who could do nothing more than lament her misfortunes.

Young Edward IV. who had been placed on the Engliſh throne by the arms of Warwick, being now rid of all his enemies, and in poſſeſſion of Henry's perſon, reigned in full ſecurity. But no ſooner was he freed from his troubles, than he became ungrateful: Warwick, who was a father to him, was at that time in France negociating a marriage between his prince and the lady Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to Lewis's queen. While this treaty was concluding, Edward happened to ſee Elizabeth Woodwill, the widow of Sir John Gray, with whom he fell violently in love, and was privately married to her; after which he cauſed her to be pro-
1465 claimed queen, without once informing Warwick of any part of theſe tranſactions. After this glaring affront, he entirely neglected him, removed him from his councils, and by this treatment made him his irreconcileable enemy. Warwick, who had cunning equal to his courage, ſoon employed both in working his revenge. He brought over the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, to his party, raiſed the kingdom of England in arms, and inſtead of the contentions of the white and red roſe, the civil war was carried on between the king and his incenſed ſubject. On this occaſion battles, truces, negociations, and treaſons followed each other in rapid ſucceſſion. Warwick at length prevailed, and drove the king he had made from the throne;
1470 after which he went to the Tower, and releaſed Henry whom he had before dethroned, and once more placed the crown on his.

his head. This procured him the title of king-maker. The parliaments of thoſe times were only the inſtruments of the will of the ſtrongeſt; Warwick aſſembled one, which reinſtated Henry VI. in all his rights, and declared Edward IV. an uſurper and a traitor, on whom it had but a few years before beſtowed the crown. This long and bloody tragedy did not end here: Edward IV. who had fled to Holland, had a number of friends in England; accordingly he returned back, ſeven months after his baniſhment, when the gates of London were opened to him by his party; and Henry, ever the ſport of fortune, was hardly ſeated on his throne when he was ſent again to the Tower. Margaret of Anjou, his queen, who was always ready to revenge his cauſe, and always fruitful in reſources, came over to England at this time, with her ſon the prince of Wales; and the firſt news ſhe heard at her landing was the freſh miſfortune which had befallen her royal conſort. But Warwick, who had been ſo long his perſecutor, was now become his defender, and headed an army in his behalf againſt Edward, whom he marched to meet. This was ſome conſolation to the unhappy queen; but a very ſhort time after ſhe had heard of the impriſonment of her huſband, a ſecond courier brought her the news that Warwick was ſlain in battle, and that Edward remained conqueror. 1471

It is amazing that a woman, after ſuch repeated ſeries of misfortunes, could ſtill have the courage to brave fortune: but this very courage furniſhed her with reſources and friends. Whoever headed a faction in England in thoſe days was ſure to ſee it ſtrengthened in length of

of time, by the hatred which generally prevails againſt the court and miniſtry. This partly helped to raiſe another army for Margaret, after all her various changes of fortune and defeats. There was hardly a county in England in which ſhe had not fought a battle; Tewkſbury, near the banks of the Severn, was witneſs to her laſt: here ſhe headed her troops in perſon, and went from rank to rank ſhewing the ſoldiers the young prince of Wales, whom ſhe led by the hand. The fight was obſti-
1471 nate, but at length victory declared for Edward. The queen loſing ſight of her ſon during the hurry of the defeat, and having in vain enquired for him, fell, deprived of all ſenſe and motion, and recovered only to ſee her ſon taken priſoner, and her conqueror Edward ſtanding before her. Her ſon was then taken from her, and ſhe was carried priſoner to London, and confined in the Tower with the king her huſband. While they were carrying off the queen, Edward turning to the prince of Wales, aſked him how he came to have the boldneſs to enter his dominions? To which the young prince replied, "I am come into my father's kingdom to revenge his cauſe, and reſcue my inheritance out of your hands." Edward, incenſed at the freedom of this reply, ſtruck him over the face with his gauntlet, and hiſtorians tell us, that immediately Edwards two brothers, the duke of Clarence, whom he had lately reſtored to his favour, and the duke of Gloceſter, with ſome of their followers, fell upon the young prince like ſo many wild beaſts, and hewed him to death with their ſwords on the field of battle. If ſuch are the manners of the

the chiefs of the people, what muſt be thoſe of the commonalty? They put all their priſoners to death, and at length determined to murder Henry himſelf. The reſpect which, even in thoſe times of brutality and cruelty, had for upwards of forty years been paid to the virtues of this monarch, had hitherto ſtopt the hands of aſſaſſination; but after the inhuman murder of the prince of Wales, very little regard was ſhewed to the king; and the duke of Gloceſter, who had before dipt his hands in the ſon's blood, now went to the Tower, and put an end to the wretched father's life. 1471

Queen Margaret's life was ſpared, becauſe they were in hopes that the French court would purchaſe her liberty; and accordingly, about four years afterwards, when Edward, after being ſettled in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, went to Calais with an intention of making war upon France, and that Lewis XI. by a ſum of money and a ſhameful treaty prevailed on him to return, this heroine was redeemed for fifty thouſand crowns. This was a conſiderable ſum to the Engliſh at that time, impoveriſhed by their wars with France, and their troubles at home.

Margaret of Anjou, after having fought twelve battles in ſupport of the rights of her huſband and ſon, died in 1482, the moſt wretched queen, wife, ſiſter, and mother, in Europe; and, but for the murder of her huſband's uncle, the moſt reſpectable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCVI.

Sequel of the Troubles of ENGLAND, during the Reigns of EDWARD IV. the Tyrant RICHARD III. and to the latter Part of the Reign of HENRY VII.

EDWARD IV. now reigned peaceably. The houſe of York was fully triumphant, and its power was cemented by the blood of almoſt all the princes of the Lancaſtrian family. Whoever conſiders the behaviour of Edward will look upon him as no other than a barbarian, wholly devoted to revenge; and yet he was a man given up to pleaſure, and as buſied in the intrigues of women as in thoſe of the ſtate. He did not ſtand in need of the title of king to pleaſe; he was formed by nature one of the handſomeſt men of his time, and the moſt amorous; and, by an aſtoniſhing contraſt, ſhe had, with the tendereſt ſenſibility, given him the moſt blood-thirſty and cruel diſpoſition. He condemned his brother Clarence to loſe
1577 his life upon the moſt frivolous ſuſpicion, and only granted him the favour of chuſing the manner of his death. Clarence deſired to be drowned in a butt of wine. What reaſon can be given for ſo unaccountable a choice †!

† This is a vulgar error. It was not at his own deſire; but the court being afraid of the popular reſentment by a public execution, he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmſey.

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He knew the ſureſt way to pleaſe the nation was to make war with France. We have already ſeen that in 1475 Edward croſſed the ſea, and that Lewis XI. by a ſhameful policy purchaſed the retreat of a prince not ſo powerful as himſelf, nor ſo well ſettled on his throne*. To purchaſe peace of an enemy is to furniſh him with the means to make war; accordingly in 1483 Edward propoſed to his parliament a freſh invaſion of France, and never was propoſal received with more univerſal joy; but while he was making preparations for this great undertaking, he died, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. 1483

As he was of a very robuſt conſtitution, his brother Richard, duke of Gloceſter, was ſuſpected of having ſhortened his days by poiſon. The public ſuſpicion was neither raſh nor ill-founded; Gloceſter was a monſter, born with a diſpoſition to commit the deepeſt and moſt deliberate crimes.

Edward IV. at his death left two ſons: the eldeſt of theſe was thirteen years of age, and ſucceeded his father by the name of Edward V. Gloceſter formed the deſign of taking theſe two children from the queen their mother, in order to put them to death, and ſeize the crown for himſelf, and ſpared no kind of diſſimulation, artifice, and oaths, to ſecure their perſons, which he no ſooner accompliſhed than he lodged them both in the Tower, that they might, as he pretended, be in greater ſafety. But he met with an unexpected obſtacle in putting this double aſſaſſination in execution. He had cauſed

* See Chap. lxxx.

the lord Haſtings, a nobleman of a violent character, but firmly attached to the perſon of the young king, to be ſounded by his emiſſaries: this lord had given plain intimations of his horror at being concerned in any ſuch crime. Glocester then, finding his ſecret in ſuch dangerous hands, did not heſitate an inſtant in the part he was to act. The council of ſtate, of which Haſtings was a member, ſate in the Tower; thither came Glocester, attended by a band of armed followers, and addreſſing himſelf to Lord Haſtings, told him, that he arreſted him for high crimes. "Who! me, my lord?" replied the accuſed nobleman. "Yes, thee, traitor," anſwered Glocester; and immediately, in preſence of the council, ordered him to be beheaded.

1483

Having thus gotten rid of one who was privy to his ſecret, he, deſpiſing the forms of law with which the Engliſh always covered over their moſt wicked attempts, gathered together a rabble from the dregs of the people, who, aſſembling in the Guildhall of the city, cried out that they would have Richard of Glocester for their king; and the mayor of London went the next day, at the head of this mob, and made him an offer of the crown, which he accepted, and was crowned without calling a parliament, or offering the leaſt ſhew of reaſon for ſuch a procedure. He only cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that his brother Edward IV. had been born in adultery, and made no ſcruple of thus diſhonouring the memory of his mother. Indeed it was hardly poſſible to think that the ſame perſon ſhould be father to Edward IV. and Glocester. The firſt was remarkably handſome, and the other

other deformed in all parts of his body, with an aſpect as hideous as his ſoul was villainous.

Thus he founded his ſole right to the crown on his mother's infamy; and in declaring himſelf legitimate, made his nephews the iſſue of a baſtard. Immediately after his coronation he ſent one Tyrel to ſtrangle the young king and his brother in the Tower. This was known to the nation, who only murmured in ſecret; ſo much do men change with the times. Gloceſter, under the name of Richard III. remained two years and a half in quiet enjoyment of the fruits of one of the moſt atrocious crimes that the Engliſh had ever ſeen perpetrated amongſt them, tho' uſed to many. 1483

During this ſhort enjoyment of the royal authority, he called a parliament, to which he had the audaciouſneſs to ſubmit his claim to be examined. There are times in which the people are daſtardly, in proportion as their rulers are cruel; this parliament declared the mother of Richard III. an adultreſs; and that neither the late Edward IV. nor his brothers, Richard only excepted, were born in lawful wedlock; and therefore that the crown of right belonged to him, in preference to the two young princes who had been ſtrangled in the Tower, concerning whoſe deaths however they came to no explanation. Parliaments have ſometimes committed more cruel actions, but never, any one ſo infamous. So vile a condeſcenſion requires whole ages of virtuous conduct to make amends for it.

At length, after two years and an half were elapſed, there aroſe an avenger of theſe crimes, in the perſon of Henry Earl of Richmond, who was the only remaining branch of the many

princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, that had fallen ſacrifices to the ambition of the York faction, and who had taken refuge in Brittany. This young prince was not a deſcendant of Henry VI. but derived, like him, his pedigree from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, ſon to the great Edward III. though by the female ſide, and from a very doubtful marriage of this John of Gaunt. His right to the crown was alſo ſtill more doubtful; but the general deteſtation in which Richard III. was held, on account of his crimes, fortified his claim, and added ſtrength to his party. He was as yet very young, when he conceived the deſign of revenging the deaths of ſo many princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, by puniſhing Richard, and reducing England to his obedience. His firſt attempt proved unſucceſsful, and, after having been witneſs to the defeat of his party, he was obliged to return to Brittany, and ſue for an aſylum. Richard treated in ſecret with the miniſter of Francis II. duke of Brittany, father to Anne of Brittany, who was married to Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. This prince himſelf was not capable of doing a baſe action; but his miniſter Landois was, and promiſed to deliver the earl of Richmond into the tyrant's hands. The young prince coming to the knowledge of this, fled out of Brittany in diſguiſe, and got into the territories of Anjou, only an hour before theſe who were ſent to ſeize him.

It was the intereſt of Charles VIII. at that time king of France, to protect Richmond. The grandſon of Charles VII. had been wanting in the principal point of politics, by ſuffering the Engliſh to remain unmoleſted when it was

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in his power to diſtreſs them; and on this occaſion Charles VIII. furniſhed Richmond with only two thouſand men. Theſe would have been ſufficient, had Richmond's party been conſiderable: this however was the caſe ſoon after, and Richard himſelf, as ſoon as he heard that his rival was landed only with thoſe ſmall numbers, rightly judged that he would not be long without an army. The whole country of Wales, of which this prince was a native, took up arms in his favour, and a battle was at length fought between Richard and the earl, at Boſworth near Leiceſter*. Richard wore the crown on his head during the engagement, thinking to animate his men, by ſhewing them that they fought for their lawful king againſt a rebel. But lord Stanley, one of the tyrant's generals, who had long beheld with horror the crown uſurped by ſuch a monſter, betrayed a perſon ſo unworthy to be his ſovereign, and went over to the earl 1415
with the corps he commanded. Richard was poſſeſſed of courage, and that was his only virtue. When he ſaw the day become deſperate, he furiouſly threw himſelf into the midſt of his enemies, where he received a death too glorious for his deſerts. His naked and mangled body was found buried under an heap of ſlain, and being thrown acroſs an horſe, was carried in that manner to the city of Leiceſter, where it remained two days expoſed to the view of the populace, who, calling to mind his many cruelties and crimes, ſhewed no ſigns of ſorrow for

* Voltaire, by miſtake, ſays Litchfield.

his fate. Stanley, who had taken the crown from his head after he had fallen in the field, carried it to Henry of Richmond.

The victors ſung Te Deum on the field of battle. When it was over, the whole army, as inſpired with one voice, cried out, "Long live Henry of Richmond, our king." Thus did the fortune of this ſingle day put an happy end to the deſolations with which the factions of the white and red roſe had filled England; and the throne, which had been ſo often ſtained with blood, and undergone ſuch frequent changes, was at length ſettled in peace and ſecurity. The misfortunes which had followed the family of Edward III. were now at an end; and Henry VII. by marrying a daughter of Edward IV. united the rights of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter in his own perſon.

As he had known how to conquer, ſo he knew how to govern; and his reign, which laſted for four and twenty years, during which time he was almoſt conſtantly at peace, ſomewhat humanized the manners of the nation. The parliaments which he frequently called, and with whom he always kept fair, enacted wiſe laws; juſtice once more reſumed all her functions, and trade, which had begun firſt to flouriſh under the great Edward III. and which had been almoſt entirely ruined during the civil wars, was again revived. Of this the nation ſtood greatly in need. We may judge of its poverty by the extreme difficulty which Henry VII. found in raiſing a loan of two thouſand pounds ſterling from the city of London, a ſum which did not amount to fifty thouſand livres of our preſent money. Henry was through inclination

tion and neceſſity avaritious. Had he been only ſaving he would have ſhewed his prudence; but the ſordidneſs of his diſpoſition, and his rapacious exactions, have tarniſhed the glory of his reign. He kept a private regiſter of what he gained by the confiſcations of eſtates; in ſhort, no king was ever guilty of more meanneſſes. At his death there were found in his coffers two millions of pounds ſterling, an immenſe ſum for thoſe times, which might have been much more uſefully employed in public circulation, than in lying buried in a prince's treaſury; but in a country where the people were more inclined to raiſe ſeditions than to give money to their kings, it was neceſſary for a prince to have a treaſure always at hand.

Two adventures, each extraordinary in its kind, rather diſquieted than troubled his reign. A journeyman baker *, who called himſelf the nephew of Edward IV. diſputed the crown with him. This perſon, who had been trained up in his part by a prieſt, was crowned king at Dublin, the capital of Ireland, 1487 and ventured to give Henry battle near Nottingham †, who having defeated him and taken him priſoner, thought to humble the revolters ſufficiently by making their ſham-king one of the ſcullions in his kitchen, in which poſt he continued for many years.

Daring enterprizes, though attended with ill ſucceſs, frequently encourage others to imi-

* Lambert Simnel.

† This was called the battle of Stoke, from the village where it was fought.

tate them, who, ſtirred up by the glory of the example, go on in hopes of meeting with better ſucceſs: witneſs the ſix falſe Demetrius's, who roſe one after another in Muſcovy, and many other impoſtors. This journeyman-baker was followed by the ſon of a Jew broker of Antwerp, who appeared in a more exalted character.

This young Jew, whoſe name was Perkin*, pretended to be the ſon of Edward IV. The French king, who was always attentive to cheriſh the ſeeds of ſedition among the Engliſh, received this pretender at his court, acknowledged his aſſumed title, and gave him all encouragement: but having ſoon after reaſons to keep fair with Henry, he left the impoſtor to ſhift for himſelf.

The old dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy, ſiſter to Edward IV. and widow of Charles the Raſh, who firſt put this ſpring in play, now received Perkin as her nephew. The young Jew enjoyed the fruits of his impoſtor much longer than his predeceſſor the baker; a majeſtic air, a finiſhed breeding, and great perſonal courage, ſeemed to make him worthy of the rank he aſſumed. He married a princeſs of the houſe of York, who ſtill continued to love him, even after the diſcovery of the cheat. He maintained his claim by arms for five years, found means
1498 to raiſe the Scotch in his favour, and met with unexpected reſources even in

* His name was Peter Warbeck; he was called Perkin, or Peterkin, by way of nickname, or abbreviation of his Chriſtian name.

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the midſt of his defeats. But being at length abandoned by his party, and delivered up to the king, Henry had the clemency to condemn him only to perpetual impriſonment, from which in attempting to make his eſcape he was ſeized, and paid for his raſhneſs with his life.

And now the ſpirit of faction being entirely quelled among the Engliſh, that people, no longer formidable to their prince, began to be ſo to their neighbours, particularly at the acceſſion of Henry VIII. to the throne, who, by the extreme parſimony of his father, was in poſſeſſion of immenſe riches, and, by the prudence of the adminiſtration, the abſolute maſter of a warlike people, who were at the ſame time in as much ſubjection as the Engliſh are capable of being.

CHAP. XCVII.

A GENERAL VIEW of the ſixteenth Century.

THE beginning of the ſixteenth century, upon which we are already entered, preſents us at one view with the nobleſt proſpects that the univerſe ever furniſhed. If we caſt our eyes on the princes who reigned at that time in Europe, we ſhall find, that either by their reputation, their conduct, or the great changes of which they were the cauſes, they made their names immortal. At Conſtantinople we ſee a Selim reducing under the Ottoman dominion all Syria and Egypt, of which the Mahometan Mamelukes had been in poſſeſſion ever ſince

the thirteenth century: after him appears his ſon the great Solyman; the firſt of the Turkiſh emperors who carried his ſtandards to the walls of Vienna: he alſo cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Perſia in the city of Bagdat, which he ſubdued by his arms; and thus made Europe and Aſia tremble at one time.

At the ſame time we behold in the North, Guſtavus Vaſa reſcuing Sweden from a foreign yoke, and choſen king of the country of which he was the deliverer.

In Muſcovy, John Baſilowitz delivers his country from the Tartars, to whom it was tributary. This prince was indeed himſelf a Barbarian, and the chief of a people yet more barbarous; but the avenger of his country merits to be ranked in the number of great princes.

In Spain, Germany, and Italy, we ſee Charles V. the ſovereign of all thoſe ſtates, ſupporting the weight of the government of Europe, always in action, and always negotiating, for a long time equally fortunate in politics and war, the only powerful emperor ſince Charlemagne, and the firſt king of all Spain ſince the conqueſt of that country by the Moors; oppoſing a barrier to the Ottoman empire, making kings, and at length diveſting himſelf of all his crowns, retiring from the world, and ending his life in ſolitude, after having been the diſturber of all Europe.

Next ſtands forth his rival in glory and politics, Francis I. king of France, who, tho' leſs powerful and fortunate, but of a more brave and amiable diſpoſition, divides with Charles V. the admiration and eſteem of all nations. Glorious even in the midſt of his defeats, he ren-

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ders his kingdom flouriſhing, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, and tranſplants the liberal arts into France from Italy, where they were then in the height of perfection.

Henry VIII. king of England, tho' too cruel and capricious to be admitted among the rank of heroes, has ſtill a place among theſe kings, both on account of the change he wrought in the ſpirit of his people, and by having taught England how to hold the balance of power between ſovereigns. This prince took for his device a warrior bending his bow, with theſe words; "Whom I defend is victorious." A device which his nation has at certain times verified.

Pope Leo X. is a name juſtly famous for the noble genius and amiable manners of him who bore it, for the great maſters in the arts which have immortalized the age he lived in, and for the great change which divided the church during his pontificate.

In the beginning of this ſame century we find religion, and the pretext of reforming the received law, thoſe two grand inſtruments of ambition, producing the ſame effects on the borders of Africa and in Germany, and amongſt the Turks and the Chriſtians. A new government and a new race of kings were eſtabliſhed in the vaſt empire of Fez and Morocco, which extends as far as the deſerts of Nigritia. Thus Aſia, Africa, and Europe, underwent at one and the ſame time a change of religions; for the Perſians were ſeparated for ever from the Turks, and while they acknowledged the ſame God and the ſame prophet, confirmed the ſchiſm of Omar and Ali. Immediately afterwards the

Chriſtians became divided amongſt themſelves, and wreſted one half of Europe from the Roman pontiff.

The old world was ſhaken, and the new one diſcovered and conquered by Charles V. and a trade opened between the Eaſt Indies and Europe by the ſhips and arms of the Portugueze.

We behold on one ſide the powerful empire of Mexico ſubdued by Cortez, and the Pizarros making the conqueſt of Peru with fewer number of ſoldiers than is neceſſary to lay ſiege to a ſmall town in Europe; and on the other, Albuquerque, with a force very little ſuperior, fixing the empire and trade of the Portugueze in the Indies, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the kings of that country, and the efforts of the Moors, who were in poſſeſſion of its trade.

Nature at this time produced extraordinary men in almoſt all branches, eſpecially in Italy.

Another ſtriking object in this illuſtrious age is, that, notwithſtanding the wars which ambition raiſed, and the religious quarrels which began to diſturb ſeveral ſtates, the ſame genius which made the polite arts flouriſh at Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Ferrara, and which from thence diffuſed its light throughout Europe, quickly ſoftened the manners of mankind in almoſt all the provinces of Chriſtendom. The gallantry of the French court in the reign of Francis I. operated partly towards this great change; there was a continual emulation between this prince and Charles V. for glory, the ſpirit of chivalry and courteſy, even in the midſt of their moſt furious diſſentions; and this emulation, which communicated itſelf to

all their courtiers, gave this age an air of grandeur and politeneſs unknown before.

Opulency had likewiſe a ſhare in this change; and this opulency, which became more general, was, by a ſtrange revolution, partly the conſequence of the fatal loſs of Conſtantinople; for ſoon afterwards all the trade of the Turks was carried on by the Chriſtians, who ſold them even the ſpices of the Indies, which they took in at Alexandria, and from thence carried them in their ſhips to all the ports of the Levant.

Induſtry was every where encouraged. The city of Marſeilles carried on a great trade. Lyons abounded in fine manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were ſtill more flouriſhing than when they were under the houſe of Burgundy. The ladies, who were invited to the court of France, made it the center of magnificence and politeneſs. The manners of the court of London were indeed more rude, by reaſon of the capricious and rough diſpoſition of its king, but that city already began to grow rich by trade.

In Germany the cities of Augſburg and Nuremberg, which diſperſed through that empire the riches they drew from Venice, began already to feel the good effects of their correſpondence with the Italians. In the former of theſe cities there were a number of beautiful houſes, adorned on the outſides with paintings *in freſco*, after the Venetian manner. In a word, Europe ſaw halcyon days appear; but they were troubled by the ſtorms which the rivalſhip between Charles V. and Francis I. excited, and the diſputes which now began to ariſe about religion,

religion, ſullied the end of this century, and even rendered it terrible, by giving it a certain caſt of barbariſm, ſcarcely known to the Huns and Heruli.

CHAP. XCVIII.

State of EUROPE in the time of CHARLES V. of MUSCOVY, or RUSSIA. A Digreſſion concerning LAPLAND.

BEFORE I take a view of the ſtate of Europe under Charles V. it will be neceſſary to form to myſelf a ſketch of the different governments into which it was divided. I have already ſhewn the ſtate of Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and England. I ſhall not ſpeak of Turky, and the conqueſts of the Ottomans in Syria and Africa, till I have firſt examined all the wonderful and fatal events which happened among the Chriſtians; and have followed the Portugueſe in the ſeveral voyages they made to Aſia, and the military trade they carried on in that country, and have taken a view of the eaſtern world.

I ſhall begin at preſent with the Chriſtian kingdoms of the North. The Ruſſian or Muſcovite ſtate began at this time to put on ſome form. This ſtate, which is ſo powerful, and is every day becoming more ſo, was for a long time only a tribe of half chriſtian ſavages, ſlaves to the Cazan-Tartars, the deſcendants of Tamerlane.

The duke of Ruſſia paid a yearly tribute in money, ſkins, and cattle to theſe Tartars, which he himſelf carried on foot to the Tartarian ambaſſador, appointed to receive them, proſtrating himſelf at his feet, and preſenting him with milk to drink; and if any part of it fell upon the neck of the ambaſſador's horſe, the duke was obliged to lick it off. The Ruſſians were on the one hand ſlaves to the Tartars; and, on the other, preſſed by the people of Lithuania: and, on the ſide of the Ukrain again, they were expoſed to the depredations of the Crim-Tartars, deſcendants from the ancient Scythians of Taurica Cherſoneſus, to whom they likewiſe paid a tribute. At length there aroſe a chief, named John Baſilides, or the ſon of Baſil, who, being a perſon of great courage, animated his daſtardly Ruſſians, and freed himſelf from ſo ſervile a yoke; adding, at the ſame time to his dominions, Novogrod, and the city of Moſcow, which he took from the Lithuanians towards the end of the fifteenth century. He extended his conqueſts as far as Finland, which country has frequently been the ſubject of ruptures between Ruſſia and Sweden.

Ruſſia, then, appears to have been at that time a large monarchy, tho' not as yet formidable to Europe. It is ſaid that John Baſilides brought back with him from Moſcow three hundred waggons loaded with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. The hiſtory of theſe dark times is wholly compoſed of fables. Neither the inhabitants of Moſcow, nor the Tartars, had at that time any money but what they had plundered from others; and as they had

had ſo long been a prey to the Tartars, what great riches could be found among them? They were acquainted with little more than the mere neceſſaries of life.

The country about Moſcow produces good corn, which is ſown in May, and reaped in September. The earth bears ſome few fruits: honey is as plenty there as in Poland, and they have large and ſmall cattle in abundance; but the wool being unfit for manufacturing, and the people in themſelves rude and void of induſtry, the only cloathing uſed amongſt them was the ſkins of beaſts. There was not one houſe in the city of Moſcow built of ſtone. The little wooden huts they lived in were made of the trunks of trees, covered with moſs. As to their manners, they lived like brutes, having a confuſed idea of the religion of the Greek church, of which they thought themſelves members. When they died, the prieſt who buried them put into the hand of the dead perſon, a note addreſſed to St. Peter and St. Nicholas. This was their principal act of religion; but in almoſt all the villages to the north-eaſt of Moſcow, the inhabitants were in general idolaters.

The czars who ſucceeded John Baſilides were poſſeſſed of riches, eſpecially after another John Baſilowitz had in 1551 taken Cazan and Aſtracan from the Tartars: but the Ruſſians themſelves were always poor; for as theſe abſolute ſovereigns had almoſt all the trade of their empire in their own hands, and raiſed contributions upon thoſe who had gained a ſmall competency, they quickly filled their own coffers, and even diſplayed an Aſiatic

pomp

pomp and luxury on their feſtivals and ſolemn days. They traded to Conſtantinople, by the way of the Black Sea; and with Poland by Novogrod. They had it therefore in their power to civilize their ſubjects; but the time was not yet come. All the northern part of their empire beyond Moſcow conſiſted in vaſt wilds, and ſome few ſettlements of ſavages. They were even ignorant that there was ſuch a large country as Siberia. A Coſſack firſt diſcovered and conquered it in the reign of this John Baſilowitz, in the ſame manner as Cortez conquered Mexico, with a few fire-arms only.

The czars had very little ſhare in the affairs of Europe, except in ſome wars with the Swedes on account of Finland. None of the inhabitants ever ſtirred out of the country, nor engaged in any maritime trade. The very port of Archangel was at that time as much unknown as thoſe of America, and was not diſcovered till the year 1553, by the Engliſh, who were in ſearch of new countries in the North, after the example of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, who had made ſeveral new ſettlements in the South, the Eaſt, and the Weſt. It was neceſſary to paſs the North Cape, at the extremity of Lapland. It was known by experience that there was a country where, during five months of the year, the ſun never enlightened the horizon. In this attempt the crews of two ſhips periſhed with cold and other diſorders on this coaſt. A third ſhip, commanded by one Chancellor, anchored in the port of Archangel, in the river Dwina, the borders of which were inhabited only by ſavages. Chancellor

cellor ſailed up the Dwina to Moſcow. The Engliſh after this were almoſt the only maſters of the trade of Muſcovy, and gained great riches by the furs they brought from thence; and this was likewiſe another branch of trade taken from the Venetians. This republic had formerly had marts, and even a town on the borders of the Tanais, and afterwards carried on a trade for furs with Conſtantinople. Whoſoever reads hiſtory with any advantage, will ſee that there have been as many revolutions in trade as in ſtates.

It was very improbable at that time that a prince of Ruſſia ſhould one day found, in the marſhes at the bottom of the Gulph of Finland, a capital, in whoſe port there arrives every year near two hundred and fifty foreign ſhips, and which has ſent forth armies to fix a king on the throne of Poland, aſſiſt the German empire againſt France, become maſters of Crimea, and diveſt Sweden of part of its territories.

About this time Lapland began to be more particularly known, to which even the Swedes, the Danes, and the Ruſſians had hitherto, been in a manner ſtrangers. This vaſt country, which borders upon the northern pole, had been deſcribed by Strabo, under the name of the country of the Troglodites, and Northern Pygmies. We have learnt that the race of Pygmies were not fictitious beings. It is probable that the Northern Pygmies have become extinct, or have been all deſtroyed by the neighbouring nations. Several kinds of men have diſappeared from the face of the earth, as well as ſeveral kinds of animals.

The

The Laplanders do not appear in the leaſt to reſemble their neighbours; for example, the men in Norway are large and well made: whereas, Lapland produces no men taller than three cubits; their eyes, ears, and noſes, again, are different from thoſe of all the other people who ſurround them. They ſeem to be a ſpecies formed purpoſely for the climate they inhabit, which they themſelves are delighted with, and which none but themſelves can like. Nature ſeems to have produced the Laplanders, as ſhe has done the rein-deer, peculiarly for that country: and as theſe animals are found no where elſe in the world, ſo neither the people appear to have come from any other part. It is not probable that the inhabitants of countries leſs ſavage would have paſſed over the moſt frightful deſerts, covered with perpetual ſnows, to tranſplant themſelves into ſo barren a part of the globe. One family may have been caſt by a tempeſt upon a deſert iſland, and have peopled this iſland; but no number of people would quit their habitations on the continent, where they were provided with ſome kind of nouriſhment, to ſettle themſelves in a remote part, amidſt rocks covered with moſs, and where they could meet with no other ſubſiſtence than fiſh and the milk of rein-deers: beſides, ſuppoſing people from Norway or Sweden to have tranſplanted themſelves into Lapland, could they poſſibly have become ſo entirely changed in figure? How happens it that the Icelanders, who dwell as far northward as the Laplanders, are ſo tall in ſtature, and the Laplanders, on the contrary, not only very ſhort, but of a quite different form?

form *? Theſe were, therefore, a new ſpecies of men who made their appearance to us at the ſame time that America and Aſia preſented us with others. The ſphere of nature now became enlarged to us on all ſides; and it is on this conſideration alone that Lapland merits our attention.

I ſhall not take any notice of Iceland, which was the Thulé of the antients; nor of Greenland, nor yet of all thoſe countries bordering on the Pole, whither the hopes of diſcovering

* Why may not men degenerate in ſtature, as well as trees? The ſeed or ſlip of a tall tree, ſown or planted in a cold climate, ſhall riſe a poor ſtunted ſhrub. That there ſhould be a difference, in point of exteriors, between a native of Iceland and a Laplander, will not appear ſtrange, when we conſider theſe particulars: the climate of Iceland is mild and moderate, the ſoil fertile, the natives are well cloathed, well fed, well houſed, and enjoy the conveniencies of life. They are, in compariſon to the Laplanders, a late colony, from a civilized people, who carried the arts of oeconomy, and the comforts of living along with them to their new habitation; and are ſubſiſted by commerce, under the protection of laws and a regulated police. On the other hand, the cold of Lapland is in the winter almoſt intolerable; and in the ſummer the air is continually ſurcharged with unwholſome vapours, exhaled and perſpired from immenſe moraſſes, lakes, and foreſts. The Laplanders are ill covered with ſkins, poorly fed, and miſerably lodged in hovels, where they lie promiſcuouſly, ſtewing in the midſt of ſmoke from their fuel, and ſteams from the bodies of one another: nay, when their hunting proves unſucceſsful or impracticable, they are almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſion. All theſe circumſtances muſt, without doubt, have had an effect in ſtunting the growth of their bodies in the courſe of propagation; even ſuppoſing them to be deſcendants of ſome more ſouthern people, driven into theſe nothern regions by the cruelty of their conquering neighbours.

a paſſage

a paſſage into America have carried our navigators. The knowledge of theſe countries is as barren as the countries themſelves, and does not enter into the political plan of the world.

Of POLAND.

POLAND, which for a long time retained the manners of the Sarmatians its firſt inhabitants, began to be of ſome conſideration in Germany, after the Jagellonian race came to the throne; and was no longer the ſame country which was wont to receive its kings at the emperor's will, and pay him tribute.

The firſt of the Jagellon family was choſen king of this republic, in the year 1382. He was duke of Lithuania, and was an idolater, as well as the reſt of his countrymen, and a great part of the palatinate. He was made king upon a promiſe of becoming Chriſtian, and incorporating Lithuania with Poland.

This Jagellon, who took the name of Ladiſlaus, was father to the unfortunate Ladiſlaus, who was king of Hungary and Poland, and formed to be one of the moſt powerful monarchs in the world, had he not unfortunately been defeated and ſlain in 1445, at the battle of Varna, which, at the inſtigation of cardinal Julian, he fought againſt the Turks, in defiance of his faith ſolemnly plighted.

The Turks, and the monkiſh knights of the Teutonic order were a long time the two great enemies of Poland. The latter of theſe, who had formed themſelves into a cruſade, not being able to ſucceed in their attempts againſt the

the Mahometans, fell upon the idolatrous and the Chriſtian inhabitants of Pruſſia, which was then a province belonging to the Poles.

During the reign of Caſimir, in the fifteenth century, the Teutonic knights waged a long war with Poland, and at length divided Pruſſia with this ſtate, on condition that the grand maſter of their order ſhould be a vaſſal of this kingdom, and, at the ſame time, a prince palatine and have a ſeat in the diet.

At this time the palatines only had votes in the eſtates of the kingdom; but Caſimir ſummoned deputies from the body of the nobility, in the year 1640, who have ever ſince maintained this privilege.

The nobles then had another privilege in common with that of the palatines, which was that of not being ſubject to arreſt for any crime before they were juridically convicted: this was a kind of right of impunity. They had beſides, the right of life and death over their peaſants, whom they might put to death with impunity, provided they threw the value of ten crowns into the grave: and if a Poliſh nobleman killed a peaſant belonging to another nobleman, he was by the laws of honour obliged to give him another in his room; and to the diſgrace of human nature, this horrid privilege ſtill ſubſiſts.

Sigiſmund, who was of the Jagellonian race, and died in 1548, was cotemporary with Charles V. and was eſteemed a great prince. During his reign the Poles had ſeveral wars with the Muſcovites, and likewiſe with the Teutonic knights, while Albert of Brandenburg was their grand maſter. But war

was

was all the Poles knew, without being acquainted with the military art; which was firſt carried to perfection in the ſouthern parts of Europe. They fought in a confuſed and diſorderly manner; they had no fortified places; and their chief ſtrength conſiſted, as it ſtill does, in their cavalry.

They wholly neglected trade; nor did they diſcover, till the thirteenth century, the ſalt-pits of Cracovia, which now conſtitute the chief wealth of the country. The corn and ſalt trade was left to Jews, and other foreigners, who grew rich by the proud indolence of the nobles and the ſlavery of the people. There were at that time in Poland no leſs than two hundred Jewiſh ſynagogues.

If we conſider the government of this country, it will appear, in ſome reſpects, an image of the antient government of the Franks, Muſcovites, and Huns; and, in others, ſomewhat to reſemble that of the ancient Romans, inaſmuch as the nobles, like the tribunes of the Roman people, could oppoſe the paſſing any law in the ſenate by ſimply pronouncing the word *Veto*. This power, which extended even to all the gentlemen, and was carried ſo far as to give a right of annulling, by a ſingle vote, all the other votes of the republic, is now become a kind of right of anarchy. The tribune was the magiſtrate of the people of Rome; whereas a gentleman in Poland is only a member and a ſubject of the ſtate, and this member has the peculiar privilege of diſturbing the whole body: but ſo dear is this privilege to ſelf-love, that, if any one ſhould attempt to propoſe

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in the diet an abolition of this cuſtom, he would be certain of being torn in pieces.

In Poland, as well as in Sweden, in Denmark and throughout the whole North, the only diſtinguiſhing title was that of Noble. The dignities of duke and count are of a later date, and are derived from the Germans; but theſe titles confer no power. The nobles are all upon an equality. The palatines, who deprived the people of their liberty, were wholly employed in defending their own againſt their kings; and, notwithſtanding the Jagellon family were ſo long in poſſeſſion of the throne, its princes were never either abſolute in their royalty, nor even kings by right of birth, but were always choſen as chiefs of the ſtate, and not as maſters. In the oath taken by theſe kings, at their coronation, they expreſsly deſired the nation to dethrone them, if they did not obſerve thoſe laws they had ſworn to maintain.

It was no very eaſy matter to preſerve the right of election always free, and ſtill continue the ſame family on the throne: but the kings having no ſtrong holds in their poſſeſſion, nor the management of the public treaſury, nor the army, could not make any attack upon the liberties of the nation. The ſtate allowed the king a yearly revenue of about twelve hundred thouſand livres of our money, for the ſupport of his dignity, which is more than the king of Sweden has to this day; the emperor has no allowance, but is obliged to ſupport, at his own expence, the dignity of Head of the Chriſtian World, *Caput Orbis Chriſtiani*; while the iſland of Great Britain

Britain give their king near twenty three millions for his civil liſt. The ſale of the kingly office is now become in Poland one of the principal ſources of the money which circulates in that kingdom. The capitation tax levied on the Jews, which is one of its largeſt revenues, does not amount to above 120000 florins of the coin of the country.

With regard to the laws, the Poles had no written code in their own language, till the year 1552 *. The nobles, who were always of equal rank with each other, were governed by the reſolutions taken in their aſſemblies, which is at preſent the only real law amongſt them; and the reſt of the nation are guided only by theſe reſolutions. As theſe nobles are the only poſſeſſors of lands, they are maſters of all the reſt of the people, and the huſbandmen are no other than their ſlaves: they are likewiſe in poſſeſſion of all the church benefices It is the ſame in Germany; but this is an expreſs and general law in Poland; whereas, in Germany, it is only an eſtabliſhed cuſtom; indeed a cuſtom greatly repugnant to Chriſtianity, tho' agreeable to the ſpirit of the Germanic conſtitution. Rome, in all its different forms of government, from the times of its kings and conſuls to the papal monarchy, has always enjoyed this advantage, that the door to honours and dignities was always open to pure merit.

* It was in the fourteenth century that Caſimir the Great introduced the Magdeburg laws, now called, *The Conſtitution of Poland.*

Of SWEDEN and DENMARK.

THE kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were, like that of Poland, elective. The peaſants and artificers were ſlaves in Norway and Denmark; but in Sweden they had a ſeat in the diets of the ſtate, and gave their vote in the impoſition of taxes. Never did two neighbouring nations entertain a more violent antipathy to each other than the Swedes and Danes; and yet theſe rival people formed only one ſtate in the famous union of Calmar, at the end of the fourteenth century.

One of the Swediſh kings, named Albert, having attempted to appropriate a third of the farms in the kingdom to his own uſe, his ſubjects revolted againſt him. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark, who was called the Semiramis of the North, took advantage of theſe troubles, and got herſelf acknowledged queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway in the year 1395. Two years afterwards ſhe united theſe two kingdoms, which ought always to have continued under the dominion of one ſingle ſovereign.

When we recollect that formerly the Daniſh pirates alone, carried their victorious arms throughout the greater part of Europe, and conquered England and Normandy, and afterwards ſee that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, tho' united, were not a formidable power to their neighbours, we may evidently conclude, that conqueſts are only to be made among an ill-governed people. The hanſe towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzick, Roſtock,

tock, Luneburg, and Wiſmar alone were able to reſiſt the power of theſe three kingdoms, on account of their ſuperior riches; and the ſingle city of Lubeck carried on a war againſt the ſucceſſors of Margaret of Waldemar. This union of the three kingdoms, which appeared ſo fair at firſt ſight, proved in the end the ſource of all their misfortunes.

There was in Sweden a primate, who was archbiſhop of Upſal, and ſix biſhops who had almoſt the ſame authority in that country which moſt of the great eccleſiaſticks had acquired in Germany and other nations, eſpecially the archbiſhop of Upſal, who was, like the primate of Poland, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. Whoſoever is the ſecond perſon in a ſtate is always deſirous of being the firſt.

It happened in the year 1452 that the eſtates of Sweden, tired of the Daniſh yoke, choſe with one conſent the grand marſhal Charles Canutſon for their king, and being equally weary of the power of the biſhops, they ordered a perquiſition to be made into the eſtates which the church had engroſſed under favour of theſe troubles. The archbiſhop of Upſal, named John de Salſtad, aſſiſted by the ſix biſhops of Sweden and the reſt of the clergy, excommunicated the king and the ſenate at high maſs, laid his ornaments upon the altar, and putting on a coat of mail, and taking a ſword in his hand, quitted the church and began a civil war, which the biſhops afterwards continued for ſeven years. After this there was nothing but the moſt bloody anarchy, and a perpetual war between the Swedes, who wanted an independent king, and the Danes; the latter of which almoſt al-

ways gained the maſtery. The clergy, who were at one time in arms for their country, and at another againſt it, reciprocally excommunicated, fought with, and plundered each other.

At length the Danes having gained the maſtery, under the command of their king, John, ſon to Chriſtian I. and the Swedes, being ſubdued, and having afterwards revolted again, this king John cauſed his ſenate in Denmark to publiſh an arret againſt that of Sweden, by which all the members of that ſenate were condemned to loſe their nobility, and forfeit their eſtates. What is very ſingular is, that he cauſed this arret to be confirmed by the emperor Maximilian, and that this emperor wrote to the eſtates of Sweden, telling them,
1505 "That they were to pay obedience to that ordinance, or elſe that he would proceed againſt them according to the laws of the empire." I do not know how the abbé Vertot, in his Revolutions of Sweden, came to forget ſo important a tranſaction, which Puffendorf has ſo carefully preſerved.

This fact is a plain proof that both the German emperors and the popes have always pretended to an univerſal juriſdiction. It likewiſe proves, that the Daniſh king was willing to flatter Maximilian, whoſe daughter he afterwards obtained for his ſon Chriſtian II. In this manner were rights eſtabliſhed in thoſe days. Maximilian's council wrote to the Swedes in the ſame manner as that of Charlemagne had done to the people of Bènevento and Guienne: but he wanted the ſame number of forces and the like power with Charlemagne.

This

This Chriſtian II. after the death of his father took very different ſteps. Inſtead of applying to the imperial chamber for an arret, he obtained four thouſand men of Francis I. king of France. Before this time the French had never engaged in any of the quarrels of the North. It is probable that Francis I. who aſpired to the imperial dignity, was willing to gain a ſupport in Denmark. The French troops fought ſeveral battles againſt the Swedes, under Chriſtian, but were very badly recompenſed for their ſervices, being ſent home without pay, and ſet upon in their return by the peaſants; ſo that not above 300 men returned alive to France, the uſual fate of all expeditions ſent too far diſtant from their own country.

We ſhall ſee what a tyrant this Chriſtian was, when we come to the article of Lutheraniſm. One of his crimes proved the cauſe of his puniſhment, in the loſs of his three kingdoms. He had lately made an agreement with an adminiſtrator created by the eſtates of Sweden whoſe name was Steno Sture; but he ſeemed to fear this adminiſtrator leſs than he did the young Guſtavus Vaſa, nephew to king Canutſon, a prince of the moſt enterpriſing courage, and the hero and idol of the Swedes; and pretending to be deſirous of having a conference with the adminiſtrator in Stockholm, demanded of him, at the ſame time, to bring with him on board his fleet, then lying in the road, the young Guſtavus, with ſix other noblemen as hoſtages. As ſoon as they were come on board his ſhip he put them all in irons, and made ſail to Denmark with his prize. After

1518 this he made preparations for an open war, in which Rome took part. We will now ſee how ſhe came to enter into it, and in what manner ſhe was deceived.

Troll, archbiſhop of Upſal, (whoſe cruelties I ſhall relate when I come to ſpeak of Lutheraniſm,) and who had been choſen primate by the clergy, confirmed by pope Leo X. and was united in intereſt with Chriſtian, was afterwards depoſed by the eſtates of Sweden, in 1517, and condemned to do perpetual penance in a monaſtery. For this the eſtates were excommunicated by the pope in the cuſtomary ſtile. This excommunication, which was nothing in itſelf, was rendered very formidable by the power of Chriſtian's arms.

There was at that time in Denmark a legate from the pope, named Arcemboldi, who had ſold indulgences throughout the three kingdoms. Such had been the addreſs of this prieſt, or the weakneſs of the people, that he had raiſed near two millions of florins in theſe countries, though the pooreſt in Europe, which he was going to ſend over to Rome; but Chriſtian ſeized on them as a ſupply for the war he was carrying on againſt the excommunicated Danes. This war proved ſucceſsful; Chriſtian was acknowledged king, and archbiſhop Troll was reinſtated in his dignity. It was after this reſtoration that the king and his primate gave that fatal feaſt in Stockholm, at which he cauſed all the members of the ſenate, and a great many citizens to be maſſacred *. While theſe things were

* The circumſtances of this maſſacre were truly horrible. It was the firſt of all ſaints, in the year 1520, when all the gran-

were tranſacting, Guſtavus eſcaped from his confinement, and fled into Sweden. He was obliged to conceal himſelf for ſome time in the mountains of Dalecarlia, in the diſguiſe of a peaſant. He even worked in the mines, either for his ſubſiſtence, or the better concealing himſelf: but at length he made himſelf known to theſe ſavage people, who being from their ruſtic ſimplicity utter ſtrangers to polities, held tyranny in the moſt deteſtable light. They agreed to follow him, and Guſtavus ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army. The uſe of fire-arms was not then at all known to theſe rude men,

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grandees and noblemen of Sweden were invited to the king's coronation. Chriſtian himſelf walked at their head to the cathedral, where, at the ceremony of coronation, he ſwore upon the ſacrament he would preſerve the privileges of the Swediſh nation, and maintain the moſt ſincere friendſhip with the ſenators and grandees of the kingdom, who took the oath of allegiance in their turn. They returned to the palace, where they were ſplendidly entertained at the king's expence. In the midſt of their feſtivity he aroſe and retired to a cloſet: then the hall was immediately filled with armed men, who ſecured the gueſts, until a ſcaffold could be raiſed before the palace gate: on this, all the biſhops and grandees were beheaded, except the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, whom Chriſtian reſerved as an extraordinary victim. He was ſtretched on a St. Andrew's croſs, and being opened alive, his heart was plucked out of his breaſt. The nobles being thus executed, a ſignal was given, at which the ſoldiers fell upon the populace, and butchered them without mercy. Next day an amneſty being publiſhed, thoſe of the burghers that remained ventured to come forth, and were immediately put to the ſword. Six biſhops who had not been preſent at the coronation, were invited to Stockholm, to be conſulted by the king, and were no ſooner lodged in that capital, than the tyrant ordered the houſe to be ſet on fire, ſo that they periſhed in the flames.

and but imperfectly to the Swedes. This always threw the victory on the ſide of the Danes: but Guſtavus having bought a number of muſkets upon his own account at Lubeck, ſoon engaged them upon an equality.

Lubeck not only furniſhed him with arms, but it likewiſe ſent him troops, without which Guſtavus could not have ſucceeded; ſo that the fate of Sweden depended on a ſimple trading city. Chriſtian was at that time in Denmark, and the archbiſhop of Upſal ſuſtained the whole weight of the war againſt this deliverer of his country. At length, by an event not very common, the party which had juſtice on its ſide, prevailed; and Guſtavus, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, beat the tyrant's lieutenants, and remained maſter of part of the country.

1521 Chriſtian, grown furious by this diſgrace, committed an action which even after what we have already ſeen of him, appears almoſt an incredible piece of wickedneſs. He for a long time had the mother and ſiſter of Guſtavus in his power at Copenhagen, and now ordered theſe two princeſſes to be both ſowed up in a ſack, and thrown alive into the ſea.

Though this tyrant was ſo well ſkilled in working his revenge, he did not know how to fight; and while he could murder two poor defenceleſs women, did not dare to venture into Sweden to face Guſtavus. At length the cruelties he exerciſed upon his ſubjects, in common with his enemies, rendered him as deteſtable to the people of Copenhagen as to the Swedes.

As

As the Danes had the power of electing their kings, ſo they likewiſe had that of puniſhing a tyrant. The firſt who renounced his authority were the people of Jutland, or the dutchy of Sleſwick. His uncle Frederic, duke of Holſtein, took advantage of this juſt inſurrection of the people, and right being ſupported by force, all the inhabitants of that part which formerly compoſed the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, deputed the chief juſtice of Jutland to ſignify to the tyrant the ſentence of depoſition.

This intrepid magiſtrate had the reſolution to carry the ſentence to Chriſtian in the midſt of Copenhagen; the tyrant finding all the reſt of his kingdom wavering, himſelf hated even by his own officers, and not daring to truſt any one, received in his own palace like a criminal the ſentence declared to him by a ſingle man unarmed. The name of this magiſtrate deſerves to be handed down to poſterity: he was called Mons. "My name, ſaid he, ought to be written over the doors of all bad princes." The kingdom of Denmark acquieſced with the ſentence, and there never was an inſtance of a revolution ſo juſt and ſudden, and ſo quietly effected. The king depoſed himſelf by flying the kingdom, and retiring into 1523
the dominions of his brother-in-law, Charles V. in Flanders, whoſe aſſiſtance he long implored.

His uncle Frederic was elected at Copenhagen, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; but of this laſt he had only the title; for the Swedes choſe Guſtavus Vaſa their king, who had made himſelf maſter of Stockholm,

about the ſame time, and perfectly well knew how to defend the kingdom he had delivered. Chriſtian, who, with his archbiſhop Troll, was now a wanderer, made an attempt ſome few years afterwards to get poſſeſſion of ſome part of his dominions. He depended upon the aſſiſtance of a male-content party in the kingdom, which is always the conſequence of a new reign, and which he now found both in Sweden and Denmark: with theſe he entered Norway. Guſtavus had introduced a change in the religion of the Swedes, and Frederic had permitted his Danes to change theirs. Chriſtian profeſſed himſelf a good Catholic, but was not for that either a better prince, or a better general, nor more beloved; ſo that in the end his enterprize proved ineffectual.

Abandoned at length by every one, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried to Denmark in the year 1532, where he ended his days in a priſon. Archbiſhop Troll, who, prompted by a reſtleſs ambition, had prevailed on the city of Lubeck to take up arms againſt the Danes, died of the wounds he received in battle, and concluded his life with more glory than Chriſtian; both of them merited a more tragical end.

Guſtavus, the deliverer of his country, now enjoyed his honours in peace. He firſt convinced foreign nations what weight Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when the politics of that country put on a new face, and they began to think of eſtabliſhing a ballance of power.

Francis I. made an alliance with him; and, notwithſtanding that Guſtavus was a Lutheran, ſent him the collar of his order, though expreſly againſt

againſt the ſtatutes. Guſtavus ſpent the remainder of his life in endeavouring to regulate his kingdom. It required all the prudence he was maſter of to ſecure his adminiſtration againſt the troubles likely to ariſe on account of the change he had made in religion. The Dalecarlians, who had been the firſt to aſſiſt him in mounting the throne, were the firſt to raiſe commotions. Their ſavage ruſticity rendered them attached to the antient cuſtoms of their church; and they were Catholics in the ſame manner as they were barbarians, by birth and education, as may be conceived from a petition which they preſented to him, wherein they deſired the king not would wear any cloaths made after the French faſhion; and would order all thoſe to be burnt who eat meat on a Friday: this laſt article was almoſt the only one in which the Lutherans were diſtinguiſhed from the Catholics.

The king ſuppreſſed theſe firſt emotions, and eſtabliſhed his religion by judiciouſly preſerving the biſhops, and at the ſame time diminiſhing their revenues and power. He ſhewed a proper regard to the antient laws of the kingdom, and cauſed his ſon Eric * to be declared his ſucceſſor, by the eſtates, in 1544; and he even procured the crown to remain in his family, on condition, that if his race ſhould become extinct, the eſtates ſhould again reſume their right of election; and that if only a princeſs remained, ſhe ſhould be allowed a certain portion, without having any pretenſions to the crown.

* Voltaire, by miſtake, ſays Frederick.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in the North, in the time of Charles V. The manners of all theſe people were ſimple but auſtere, and their virtues were fewer, as their ignorance was greater. The titles of count, marquis, baron, and knight, and moſt of the other badges of vain glory, had not found their way at all among the Swedes, and but very little among the Danes; but then the moſt uſeful inventions were likewiſe unknown to them. They had no ſettled commerce, nor any manufactures. Guſtavus Vaſa, by drawing the Swedes from their ſtate of obſcurity, inſpired the Danes by his example.

Of HUNGARY.

THE conſtitution of this government was exactly the ſame with that of Poland. Its kings were elected by the diets: the palatine of Hungary had the ſame authority as the primate of Poland, and was moreover judge between the king and the nation. Such was formerly the power or privilege of the palatine of the empire, the mayor of the palace in France, and the juſticiary of Arragon. We find that in all monarchies the regal power was in its beginning counterbalanced by ſome other.

The nobles had the ſame privileges as in Poland; I mean thoſe of being ſcreened from all puniſhment, and of diſpoſing of the lives of their peaſants or bondmen. The common people were ſlaves. The chief forces of this kingdom conſiſted in the cavalry, which was formed of the nobles and their followers. The infantry was a heap of peaſants gathered together, without order or diſcipline, who took the

the field in ſowing time, and continued in it till harveſt.

We may recollect that this kingdom firſt embraced Chriſtianity about the year 1000 †. Stephen, the chief of the Hungarians, who was deſirous of being made king, employed on this occaſion the force of arms and religion. Pope Sylveſter II. gave him not only the title of king, but of apoſtolic king likewiſe. Some writers ſay that it was John XVIII. or XIX. who conferred theſe two honours on Stephen, in the year 1003, or 1004. Such diſcuſſions, however, have nothing to do with the end of my enquiries. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that, on account of this title's having been conferred by a bull, the popes pretended to exact a tribute from the Hungarians, and that it is in virtue of the term *apoſtolic* that the kings of Hungary pretend to a right of beſtowing all the church benefices in the kingdom.

We may obſerve that kings and even whole nations have been governed by certain prejudices. The chief of a warlike people did not dare to aſſume the title of king, without the pope's permiſſion. This kingdom, and that of Poland likewiſe, were governed on the model of the Germanic empire; and yet the kings of Poland and Hungary, though they made counts, had never dared to create dukes, and were ſo far from taking the title of majeſty, that they were at that time only ſtiled, Your excellency.

The emperors even looked upon Hungary as a fief of the empire; and Conrad the Salic actually received homage and tribute from king

† See Vol. I.

Peter;

Peter; while the popes on their ſide maintained, that they had a right to beſtow this crown, becauſe they were the firſt who gave the title of king to the chief of the Hungarian nation.

And here it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort retroſpect of thoſe times, when the houſe of France, which had furniſhed kings to Portugal, England, and Naples, beheld likewiſe one of its branches ſeated on the throne of Hungary.

About the year 1290, this throne being vacant, the emperor, Rodolph of Hapſburg, gave the inveſtiture of it to his ſon Albert of Auſtria, as he would beſtow a common fief. Pope Nicholas IV. on his ſide, conferred this kingdom as a church benefice on the grandſon of the famous Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, who was king of Naples and Sicily. This nephew of St. Lewis was called Charles Martel, and laid claim to the kingdom, becauſe his mother Mary of Hungary was ſiſter to the laſt deceaſed king of Hungary. With a free people, it is not the being a relation to the king that can confer a title to the throne; and the Hungarians accepted neither the ſovereign nominated by the emperor, nor him whom the pope appointed for them, but fixed upon Andrew, ſurnamed the Venetian, a prince who was alſo of the blood royal. Upon this there followed excommunications and wars; but after his death, and that of his competitor Charles Martel, the decree of the Roman tribunal was carried into execution.

Boniface VIII. in 1303, four months before the affront he received from the king of France, the grief for which is ſaid to have occaſioned his death, had the honour to ſee the cauſe of the

the houſe of Anjou brought before his tribunal *. Mary, queen of Naples, ſpoke in perſon before the conſiſtory; and Boniface beſtowed Hungary on prince Carobert, ſon to Charles Martel, and grandſon to this Mary.

This Carobert then was in fact king by the pope's favour, and maintained upon the throne by his intereſt and his ſword. The kingdom of Hungary became more powerful under him than the emperors, who looked upon it as one of their fiefs. Carobert reannexed to his kingdom the provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Tranſylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, which had been rent from it at different times. 1308

Carobert's ſon, Lewis, brother to that Andrew, king of Hungary, whom his wife Joan of Naples cauſed to be ſtrangled, ſtill farther encreaſed the Hungarian power. He went to Naples to revenge his brother's murder, and aſſiſted Charles Durazzo to dethrone queen Joan, but without being any way inſtrumental in the cruel manner in which Durazzo cauſed that unhappy princeſs to be put to death. After his return to Hungary he acquired true glory, by doing juſtice to his people, enacting wiſe laws, and aboliſhing the cuſtom of trials by the hot iron, and boiling water, which were always in the greateſt credit, when the people were moſt uncivilized.

We have all along obſerved that there never was a truly great man who was not a lover of letters. This prince cultivated geometry and

* See chap. liii. Vol. II.

aſtro-

aſtronomy, and countenanced the other arts: it is to this philoſophic genius, ſo rare at that time, that we are to attribute the abolition of the ſuperſtitious trials abovementioned. A king who was maſter of ſound reaſoning was a prodigy in thoſe countries. His courage was equal to his other qualifications: he was beloved by his own ſubjects, and admired by ſtrangers. Towards the latter part of his life, in 1370, the Poles made choice of him for their king: he reigned happily in Hungary forty years, and over the Poles twelve. His people gave him the ſurname of the Great, which he well deſerved; and yet this prince is hardly known in Europe, becauſe he did not reign over men capable of tranſmitting his fame and virtues to other nations. How few know that in the fourteenth century there was a Lewis the Great in the Carpathian mountains?

He was ſo much beloved, that the eſtates, in 1382, beſtowed the crown on his daughter Mary, not then marriageable, by the title of *King Mary*, a title which has in our time been renewed in favour of a daughter of the laſt emperor of the houſe of Auſtria.

This all ſerves to ſhew, that if in hereditary kingdoms the people ſometimes find reaſon to complain of a deſpotic abuſe of the ſupreme power, elective ſtates are on their part expoſed to ſtill more violent ſtorms, and that even liberty itſelf, which is ſo natural and ineſtimable a bleſſing, is ſometimes productive of great misfortunes.

Young king Mary and her kingdom were both under the government of her mother Elizabeth of Boſnia, who being diſagreeable to the

grandees, they made uſe of their right, and placed the crown on another head, and made Charles Durazzo, ſirnamed the Little, king; who was deſcended in a direct line from St. Lewis's brother, who reigned in the two Sicilies. Charles arrived at Naples, from Buda, and was ſolemnly crowned in 1386, and acknowledged king by Elizabeth herſelf.

We now come to one of thoſe ſtrange events with regard to which the laws are wholly ſilent, and leave us in doubt whether it may not be a crime even to puniſh vice.

Elizabeth and her daughter Mary, after having lived in as good correſpondence with Durazzo as it was poſſible to do with a perſon who was in poſſeſſion of their crown, invited him to their apartment; where they cauſed him to be murdered in their preſence, after which they prevailed on the people to join them; and young Mary, who was ſtill directed by her mother, reſumed the crown.

Some time afterwards, Elizabeth and Mary made a journey into Lower Hungary, and in their way imprudently paſſed through the lands of the count of Hornac, who was ban of Croatia. This ban was what they call in Hungary a ſupreme count, who has the command of the armies, and the executing juſtice. This nobleman was particularly attached to the murdered king; was it then, or was it not, lawful for him to revenge the death of his king? He ſoon came to a reſolution, and ſeemed to conſult only juſtice in the cruelty of his revenge; he cauſed the two queens to be tried, after which he ordered Elizabeth to be drowned, and kept

Mary

Mary in priſon, as the leaſt guilty of the two.

At the ſame time Sigiſmund, who was afterwards emperor, entered Hungary and eſpouſed queen Mary. The ban of Croatia, who thought himſelf ſufficiently powerful, had the boldneſs to carry that princeſs himſelf to Sigiſmund, after having drowned her mother, thinking, as we may ſuppoſe, that he had done only an act of ſevere juſtice; but Sigiſmund ordered his fleſh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and he died amidſt the moſt dreadful torments. His death cauſed an inſurrection of the nobles of Hungary; and this whole reign was one continued ſucceſſion of troubles and factions.

It is poſſible to reign over a great number of ſtates, and yet not be a powerful prince; this Sigiſmund was, at one and the ſame time, emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary: but in Hungary he was beaten by the Turks, and once confined in priſon by his ſubjects, who had revolted againſt him. In Bohemia he was almoſt continually at war with the Huſſites; and in the empire his authority was almoſt always counterbalanced by the prerogatives of the grandees, and the privileges of the great cities.

In 1438 Albert of Auſtria, ſon-in-law to Sigiſmund, was the firſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria who had reigned in Hungary.

This Albert was, like Sigiſmund, both emperor and king of Bohemia, but he did not reign above three years; and this ſhort reign was the cauſe of inteſtine diviſions, which, together with the irruption of the Turks, depopulated Hungary,

Hungary, and made it one of the moſt miſerable countries in the world.

The Hungarians, who always preſerved their liberty, would not accept for their king a child which Albert of Auſtria left at his death, but choſe Uladiſlaus, or Ladiſlaus, king of Poland, who, in 1444, loſt the famous battle of Varna, together with his life, as has been before related.

Frederick III. of Auſtria, who was emperor in 1440, took the title of king of Hungary, but never was ſo in reality. He kept the ſon of Albert of Auſtria, whom I ſhall call Ladiſlaus Albert, priſoner in Vienna, while John Hunniades was making head in Hungary againſt Mahomet II. who conquered ſo many ſtates. This John Hunniades was not king, but he was general and idol of a free and warlike people, and no king ever poſſeſſed a more abſolute power.

After his death the houſe of Auſtria had the crown of Hungary. This Ladiſlaus Albert was elected king, and cauſed one of the ſons of this John Hunniades, the revenger of his country, to be put to death by the hands of the executioner: but, with a free people, tyranny never goes unpuniſhed; Ladiſlaus was driven from a throne which he had ſtained with ſuch illuſtrious blood, and paid for his cruelty by perpetual exile.

There ſtill remained a ſon of the great Hunniades: this was Matthias Corvinus, whom the Hungarians with great difficulty, and not without paying a large ſum of money, reſcued out of the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. This prince waged war both with the emperor Frederick III. and the Turk, from the former of whom

whom he took Auſtria, and drove the latter out of Upper Hungary.

After his death, which happened in 1490, the houſe of Auſtria was continually endeavouring to add Hungary to its other dominions. The emperor Maximilian, even though he had again entered Vienna, could not obtain this kingdom, which was beſtowed upon another Ladiſlaus, a king of Bohemia, whom I ſhall call Ladiſlaus of Bohemia.

The Hungarians, after the example of the nobles in Poland, and the electors of the empire, in thus chuſing their own kings, always limited the royal authority: but it muſt be acknowledged, that the Hungarian nobles were petty tyrants, who would not ſuffer a greater tyrant over them; their liberty was no other than a fatal independency, and they reduced the reſt of the nation to ſo wretched a ſtate of ſlavery, that the peaſants and common people being unable longer to ſupport ſuch continued oppreſſions, took up arms againſt theſe cruel maſters; and a civil war, which laſted four years, ſtill farther weakned this unhappy kingdom. At length the nobles, being better provided with arms and money than the peaſants, gained the maſtery; and this war ended in redoubled miſeries to the people, who to this day continue the actual ſlaves of the grandees.

A country which had been ſo long a prey to devaſtations, and where there remained only a ſlaviſh and diſcontented people, under maſters almoſt always at variance among themſelves, was no longer able of itſelf to reſiſt the arms of the Turkiſh ſultans. Accordingly we find, that when young Lewis II. ſon to this Ladiſlaus of Bohemia,

Bohemia, and father-in-law to Charles V. attempted to oppoſe the arms of Solyman, the whole kingdom of Hungary was not able to furniſh him with an army of more than thirty thouſand fighting men. One Tomeres, a Franciſcan friar, who was general of this army, in which there were five other biſhops, promiſed Lewis the victory; but his whole army was cut to pieces in the famous battle of Mohats, in 1526, and the king himſelf ſlain. After this victory, Solyman over-run all this wretched kingdom, and carried two hundred thouſand captives away with him.

Nature in vain furniſhed this country with gold-mines, and the more ſubſtantial riches of corn and wine; in vain ſhe formed its inhabitants robuſt, well-made, and ingenious; nothing now remained to the view but a vaſt deſert, with ruined cities, and fields tilled with the ſword in hand, villages dug under ground, in which the inhabitants buried themſelves with their proviſions and cattle, and a few fortified caſtles, for the ſovereignty of which the poſſeſſors were always in arms againſt the Turks and the Germans.

There were likewiſe ſeveral other fine countries of Europe that were deſolated, and lay uncultivated and uninhabited; ſuch as one half of Dalmatia, the north of Poland, the banks of the Tanais, and the fruitful country of the Ukraine, while ſearch was making after other lands in a new world, and as far as the limits of the old.

Of Scotland.

IN this ſketch of the political government of the North, I muſt not forget Scotland, of which I ſhall ſpeak further when I come to treat of the article of religion.

Scotland had rather a greater ſhare in the ſyſtem of Europe than the other nations of the North, becauſe as being at enmity with the Engliſh, who were always endeavouring to ſubject it, it had for a long time been in alliance with France, whoſe kings could eaſily prevail upon the Scotch to take arms in their favour whenever it was neceſſary; and we find that Francis I. ſent no more than thirty thouſand crowns (which makes about one hundred and thirty thouſand of our preſent livres) to the party who were to get war declared againſt the Engliſh in 1543. In fact, Scotland is ſo poor, that even at this time, when it is united with England, it pays only the fortieth part of the ſubſidies of the two kingdoms *.

A poor ſtate which has a rich one for its neighbour muſt at length become venal: but ſo long as this country kept itſelf free, it was formidable. The Engliſh, who under Henry II. conquered Ireland with ſo much eaſe, could never ſubdue Scotland; and Edward III. who was a great warrior and a deep politician, tho'

* This is the caſe only in one branch of the revenue, namely the land-tax; in almoſt all the other impoſitions the Scots pay the ſame as the Engliſh: that is, they raiſe their proportion of thoſe annual ſums required to pay the intereſt of one hundred and twenty millions, being at this day the debt of the Britiſh nation.

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he conquered it could never keep it. There always ſubſiſted a jealouſy and hatred between the Scotch and the Engliſh, not unlike that between the Spaniards and Portugueze. The houſe of Stewart had ſate on the throne of Scotland ever ſince the year 1370: never was there a more unfortunate family. James I. after having been priſoner in England eighteen years, was murdered by his ſubjects in 1444, and James II. was killed in the unfortunate expedition to Roxburgh†, when he was only nine and twenty years old. James III. before he was five and thirty, was ſlain by his own ſubjects in a pitched battle. James IV. ſon-in-law to Henry VII. king of England, fell at the age of thirty-nine in a battle againſt the Engliſh in the year 1513, after a very unfortunate reign ‡; and James V. died in the flower of his age, in the year 1542, when he was not quite thirty.

We ſhall ſee that the daughter of James V. was ſtill more unfortunate than any of her predeceſſors, and added to the number of thoſe queens who have died by the hands of the executioner. James VI. her ſon, became afterwards king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, only, through the weakneſs of his intellects, to lay the foundations of thoſe revolutions which afterward brought the head of Charles I. to the block, and drove James VII. into exile, and ſtill keeps this unfortunate family outcaſts and wanderers

† The expedition was ſucceſsful, inaſmuch as the place was taken after the king's death.

‡ The reign of James IV. was by no means unfortunate before his laſt expedition into England,

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at a diſtance from their own country. The moſt favourable times for this houſe were, during the reigns of Charles V. and Francis V. James V. who was father to Mary Stewart, ſate on the throne of Scotland; and after his death, his widow Mary of Lorraine, mother to this Mary, was appointed regent of the kingdom, and it was during her adminiſtration that the troubles firſt began to break out under pretence of religion, as we ſhall hereafter ſee.

I ſhall not dwell any longer on this review of the kingdoms of the North in the ſixteenth century; having already examined the terms in which Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain ſtood with each other, I have thereby acquired a ſufficient introductory knowledge to the intereſts of the North and South, and ſhall now examine more particularly into the ſtate of Europe.

CHAP. XCIX.

Of GERMANY and the EMPIRE.

THE weſtern empire ſtill ſubſiſted in name; but it had been for a long time only a burthenſome title, as may appear from its having been refuſed by the ambitious Edward III. of England, when offered to him by the electors in 1348. Charles IV. who was looked upon as the law-giver of the empire, could not obtain permiſſion of pope Innocent VI. and the barons of Rome to be crowned emperor in that city, till he had promiſed not to lie a night within

within the walls. His famous golden bull, by limiting the number of electors, reſtored ſome order in Germany, which had before been a continued ſcene of anarchy. This law was, at its firſt inſtitution, conſidered as fundamental, but has ſince been frequently departed from. In his time all the cities of Lombardy were actually free and independent of the empire, excepting only in ſome particular rights. Every lord in Germany and Lombardy remained ſovereign of his own territories during all the ſucceeding reigns.

The times of Winceſlaus, Robert, Joſſe, and Sigiſmund, were times of darkneſs, in which there appeared no trace of the imperial dignity, except in the council of Conſtance, which was aſſembled by Sigiſmund, and in which that emperor ſhone forth in full glory.

The emperors had no longer any demeſnes, having ceded them at different times to the biſhops and cities, either to procure themſelves a ſupport againſt the power of the lords of great fiefs, or to raiſe money. They had now nothing left but the ſubſidy of the Roman months, which was paid only in time of war, and for defraying the expences of the vain ceremony of the emperor's coronation at Rome, which ſtill ſubſiſted. It was abſolutely neceſſary therefore to elect a chief who was powerful of himſelf, and this firſt brought the ſceptre into the houſe of Auſtria. A prince was wanting whoſe dominions might on the one hand have a communication with Italy, and on the other be capable of oppoſing the incurſions of the Turks; and this advantage Germany found in Albert II. who was duke of Auſtria, and king of Bohemia

and Hungary; and this firſt fixed the imperial dignity in his houſe, and the throne became hereditary, without ceaſing to be elective. Albert and his ſucceſſors were choſen on account of the large dominions they poſſeſſed; and Rodolph of Hapsburg, one of the ſtocks of that houſe, had formerly been elected becauſe he had none. The reaſon of this ſeeming contradiction is obvious; Rodolph was elected at a time when the houſes of Saxony and Suabia had given reaſon to fear their becoming deſpotic, and Albert II. when the houſe of Auſtria was thought ſufficiently powerful to defend the empire, and yet not to enſlave it.

Frederick III. aſcended the imperial throne by this title. Germany was in his time in a ſtate of inability and peace. It was not ſo powerful as it might have been; and we have already ſeen that this prince was very far from being the ſovereign of Chriſtendom, as his epitaph imports*.

Maximilian I. while he was yet only king of the Romans, began his career in the moſt glorious manner, by the victory of Guinegaſte, which he gained over the French in 1479, and the treaty he made with them in 1492, by which he ſcured the poſſeſſion of the Franche Comté, Artois, and Charolois. But as he drew nothing from the Low Countries, which belonged to his ſon Philip the Fair, nor from the people of Germany, and very little from his dominions in France, he would never have been of any conſideration in Italy, had it not been for the league of Cambray, and Lewis XII. who did every thing for him.

* See Chap. xcv. in this Volume.

At first the pope and the Venetians prevented him, in the year 1508, from coming to Rome to be crowned emperor; and he took the title of emperor elect, as he could not be crowned emperor by the pope. We see him after the league of Cambray, and in the year 1513, receiving the daily pension of an hundred crowns from the English king, Henry VIII*. His German dominions furnished him with men to take the field against the Turk, but he wanted those riches with which France, England, and Italy, caaried on their wars at that time.

Germany was become in reality a republic of princes and cities, notwithstanding that its chief in his edicts spoke in the strain of absolute master of the whole world. It had been divided in the year 1500 into six circles; and the directors of these circles being sovereign princes, and the generals and colonels paid by the provinces and not by the emperor, this establishment, by linking together all the several parts of the empire, secured the liberty of the whole. The imperial chamber, which had the passing of final judgment, being paid by the princes and cities, and not having its seat in the particular demesnes of the monarch, proved another support to the public liberty. It is true it could never carry its decrees into execution against powerful princes, unless seconded by the empire; but this very abuse of liberty was a proof of its real existence: this is so notorious, that the Aulic court, which was first formed in 1512, and was entirely under the direction of the em-

* See Chap. xcii.

perors, ſoon proved the ſtrongeſt ſupport to their authority.

Germany, under this form of government, was at that time as happy a ſtate as any in the world. Inhabited by a warlike people, who were capable of the greateſt military operations; there was no probability of the Turks being ever able to ſubdue it. Its lands were good; and ſo well cultivated, that the inhabitants were at leaſt under no neceſſity, as formerly, of ſeeking for other ſettlements: at the ſame time they were neither ſo rich nor ſo poor, nor ſo united together, as to be in a condition to make the conqueſt of all Italy.

But what were at that time its pretenſions upon Italy and the Roman empire? The ſame as thoſe of the Othos and the imperial houſe of Suabia had been; the ſame which had coſt ſuch a deluge of blood, and which had undergone ſo many alterations ſince Julius II. who was patriarch as well as pontiff of Rome, had the imprudence, inſtead of rouzing the antient Roman courage, to call in the aſſiſtance of foreigners. Rome had nothing left but to repent of her folly; for ſince that time there had always been a private war between the empire and the pontificate, as well as between the pretenſions of the emperor and the liberties of the Italian provinces. The title of Cæſar was only a ſource of conteſted rights, undetermined diſputes, exterior grandeur, and real weakneſs. Theſe times were no longer thoſe in which the Othos created kings, and impoſed tributes upon them. If Lewis XII. had maintained a good underſtanding with the Venetians, inſtead of taking up arms againſt them, the emperors

would in all probability never have ſet foot again in Italy. But from the diviſions among the Italian princes, and the nature of the pontifical government, it unavoidably happened that a great part of this country was always to be a prey to foreigners.

CHAP. C.

CUSTOMS of the fifteenth and ſixteenth CENTURIES, and the State of the LIBERAL ARTS.

WE find that there were few abſolute ſovereigns in Europe; the emperors before Charles V. had never ventured to aim at deſpotic power. The popes, tho' much more the maſters of Rome than formerly, had much leſs power in the church; the crown of Hungary and Bohemia, like the other kingdoms in the North, were elective; and an election neceſſarily ſuppoſes a contract between prince and people. The kings of England could neither make laws nor break them, without the conſent of their parliaments. Iſabella of Caſtile had acknowledged the rights of the Cortes, which were all the eſtates of the kingdom. Ferdinand the Catholic, of Arragon, had not been able to aboliſh the authority of the grand juſticiary of that kingdom, who looked upon himſelf as entitled to be the judge of kings. France alone was changed into a ſtate purely monarchical, after the reign of Lewis

XI. A happy form of government, when a king like Lewis XII. appeared, who, by his love to his people, made amends for all the faults he committed, with regard to other nations.

The civil government of Europe was greatly improved by the ſtop which had every where been put to the private wars between the feudal lords. The cuſtom of duels, however, was ſtill continued.

The popes by their decrees, which were always wiſe, and, what is more, always beneficial to Chriſtendom, when their own private intereſts were not concerned, had anathematized theſe combats; but they were ſtill permitted by ſeveral of the biſhops; and the parliaments of Paris ſometimes ordered them, witneſs the famous one between Legris and Carrouges, in the reign of Charles V. There were ſeveral other duels fought by order of the courts. The ſame evil practice was likewiſe kept up in Germany, Italy, and Spain, with the ſanction of certain forms, which were looked upon as eſſential; particularly that of confeſſing and taking the ſacraments before they prepared for murder. The good Chevalier de Bayard always heard a maſs before he went into the field to fight a duel. The combatants always choſe a ſecond, who was to take care that their weapons were equal, and to make diligent ſearch that neither of them had any ſpell about them; for nothing on earth was ſo credulous as a knight.

Some of theſe knights have been known to leave their own country, and go into foreign parts in ſearch of a duel, without any other motive

motive than that of ſignalizing themſelves. Duke John of Bourbon, in the year 1414, cauſed it to be proclaimed "that he was going to England with ſixteen other knights, to fight to extremity *, that he might avoid idleneſs and merit the favour of the fair lady whom he ſerved."

Tournaments, tho' condemned likewiſe by the popes, were practiſed every where. They always went by the name of *Ludi Gallici*, or the French games; becauſe one Geofroi de Preuilly had, in the eleventh century, publiſhed a body of rules to be obſerved in them. Upwards of an hundred knights had been killed in theſe games; but this only ſerved to make them more in vogue.

It was thought that the death of Henry II †, who was killed at a tournament held in 1599, would have aboliſhed this cuſtom for ever;

* When a knight challenged all the world, he wore an emprize, conſiſting of a gold chain, or ſome other badge of love and chivalry. Sometimes this emprize was fixed up in a public place. When another knight accepted the challenge for a trial of chivalry, called the Combat of Courteſy, he gently touched the emprize; but if he was determined to fight the owner *à outrance*, to extremity, he tore away the emprize with force and violence.

† For the celebration of a general peace, Henry, among other feſtivities, inſtituted a tournament, or *Pas d'Armes*, in which he ſignalized himſelf perſonally with great addreſs: at length, he ſent a launce to the count of Montgomery, captain of the Scotch guard. They accordingly entered the liſts, ran a tilt, ſhivered their lances, when a ſplinter running through the vizor of the king's helmet, penetrated through the eye into the brain: of this wound he expired in a few days.

but the idle lives of the great, long uſe, and the paſſions, revived theſe games at Orleans, in leſs than a year after the tragical death of Henry; when Henry of Bourbon, duke of Montpenſier and a prince of the blood, loſt his life likewiſe by a fall from his horſe. After this an entire ſtop was put to tournaments; but a faint image of them remained in the Pas d'Armes, held by Charles IX. and Henry III. the year after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew: for in thoſe bloody times they always intermixed feaſts and diverſions with their barbarous proſcriptions. This Pas d'Armes was not attended with any danger, as the combatants did not engage with ſharp weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuſe in 1581. The word Tournament is therefore very improperly given by L'Etoile, in his Journal, to the ſhews exhibited on this occaſion. The grandees did not fight at all; and what L'Etoile calls a Tournament was only a warlike ballet or interlude, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre, by a company of hired performers; and was a ſhew given to the court, and not given by the court itſelf. The games which ſtill continued to go by the name of tournaments were only carouſals.

We may therefore date the ſupreſſion of tournaments from the year 1560. With theſe games expired the antient ſpirit of chivalry, which never appeared again but in romances. This kind of ſpirit was very prevalent in the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Francis was a knight in the true ſenſe of the word, and Charles

Charles aimed at being ſuch *. They would give each other the lie in public, and afterwards meet together in the moſt friendly manner; and it is known that the emperor put himſelf into the hands of the king of France upon no other ſecurity than that of his word of honour, which the king was not capable of violating. There are ſeveral occurrences in the reigns of theſe two princes which ſavour greatly of the heroic and fabulous ages; but Charles V. approached nearer to our modern times in the refinement of his politics.

The art of war, the law of arms, and the offenſive and defenſive weapons made uſe of in thoſe days, were likewiſe entirely different from what they are at preſent.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms made uſe of by the Macedonian phalanx, which were ſpears of eighteen feet in length, and were uſed by the Swiſs in the wars of Milan; but they were ſoon laid aſide for the two-handed ſword.

The arquebuſe, or firelock, was become a neceſſary weapon againſt the ſteel ramparts by which the gendarmerie of thoſe days were defended. No helmet or cuiraſs was proof againſt theſe. The gendarmerie, which they called the Battalion, fought on foot as well as on horſeback: the French gendarmerie was in moſt eſtimation in the fifteenth century.

* Nevertheleſs the behaviour of Francis, when he received the laſt formal cartel of perſonal defiance from the emperor, was ſuch as gives no great idea of his manhood.

The German and Spaniſh infantry were reputed the beſt. The war-cry was almoſt every where laid aſide.

As to the government of ſtates, at this time, I find cardinals at the head of the adminiſtration in almoſt every kingdom. In Spain I ſee cardinal Ximenes, who ruled under Iſabella of Caſtile during her life; and after her death was appointed regent of the kingdom, who, always clad in the habit of a Franciſcan friar, placed his chief pride in treading under feet the Spaniſh grandeur; who raiſed an army at his own expence, and afterwards led it in perſon into Africa, and took the city of Oran; in a word, who had made himſelf abſolute, till young Charles V. drove him from the helm of power, and obliged him to retire to his archbiſhopric of Toledo, where he died of grief.

In France, I ſee Lewis XII. governed by cardinal d'Amboiſe, and cardinal Duprat prime miniſter to Francis I. Henry VIII. of England was, for the ſpace of twenty years, entirely under the direction of cardinal Wolſey, a man as vain-glorious as d'Amboiſe, and who, like him, wanted to be pope, and like him failed in his attempt. Charles V. made his preceptor, cardinal Adrian, who was afterwards pope, his prime miniſter in Spain; and cardinal Granvelle had afterwards the government of Flanders. Laſtly, cardinal Martinuſius was maſter of Hungary, under Ferdinand, brother to Charles V.

Tho' we ſee ſo many military ſtates governed all of them by churchmen, this did not proceed merely from thoſe princes being more ready to place their confidence in a prieſt, of whoſe

whoſe power they could ſtand in no apprehenſion, than in the general of an army, who might in time become formidable to them; but alſo, becauſe the church-men were generally men of more knowledge, and more capable of managing public affairs than either the military officers or the courtiers.

It was not till this century that thoſe cardinals, who were the king's ſubjects, took precedency of the chancellor of the kingdom. They diſputed it with the electors of the empire, and yielded it to the chancellors in France and England; and this again is one of thoſe contradictions which pride had introduced into the republic of Chriſtendom. By the regiſters of the Engliſh parliament we find that the lord chancellor Warham had precedence of cardinal Wolſey till the year 1516.

The title of majeſty began now to be aſſumed by kings, and the ranks of the ſeveral ſovereigns were ſettled at Rome. The firſt place was, without contradiction, aſſigned to the emperor; after him came the king of France, without a competitor; the kings of Caſtile, Arragon, Portugal, and Sicily, took rank in turns with the king of England; then came Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland; and, laſt of all, Denmark and Sweden. Great diſputes aroſe afterwards from this ſettling of the precedency. The kings, almoſt to a man, wanted to be equal in rank with each other; but not one of them attempted to diſpute the chief place with the emperors, who thus preſerved their rank while they loſt their authority.

All the cuſtoms in civil life were different from ours; the doublet and ſhort cloak was the common dreſs in all courts. The gentlemen of the law every where wore a long and cloſe robe, which fell half-way down their legs.

In the time of Francis I. there were but two coaches in the city of Paris; one for the queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. The men and women all rode on horſeback.

Riches were now ſo much encreaſed, that Henry VIII. of England, in 1519, promiſed three hundred and thirty-three thouſand gold crowns in dowry with his daughter Mary, who was to be married to the ſon of Francis I. This was a larger ſum than had ever yet been given by any one.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry was a long time famous for its magnificence. Their camp was called the *camp of cloth of gold*; but this momentary parade, this ſtretch of luxury did not imply that general magnificence, nor thoſe uſeful conveniencies which are ſo common in our times, and which ſo far exceed the pomp of a ſingle day. The hand of induſtry had not then changed their ſorry wooden dwellings into ſumptuous palaces; the thatched roofs and the mud-walls ſtill remained in the ſtreets of Paris. The houſes in London were ſtill worſe built, and the manner of living there, harder. The greateſt noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their wives behind them on horſeback; princeſſes themſelves travelled in no other manner, or covered with a riding-cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather; and this dreſs

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they wore even when they went to the palace. This cuſtom continued till the middle of the ſeventeenth century. The magnificence of Francis I. Charles V. Henry VIII. and Leo X. were only for days of public ſolemnity; whereas, at preſent, the ſhews and entertainments which we ſee in common every day, the number of gilt coaches, and the multitude of lamps which are lighted up during the night-time, in the ſtreets of all our great cities, exhibit far greater riches and plenty than the moſt brilliant ceremonies of the monarchs of the ſixteenth century.

In the reign of Lewis XII. they firſt began to ſubſtitute gold and ſilver ſtuffs, in room of the coſtly furs they were formerly wont to wear. Theſe ſtuffs were the manufactures of Italy, there being none made at that time in Lyons. Gold work was in general very clumſy, Lewis XII. having by an ill-judged ſumptuary law forbidden its uſe throughout his kingdom; ſo that the French were obliged to ſend to Venice for all their plate. By this means, the goldſmiths were all reduced to poverty; and Lewis XII. at length wiſely revoked this law.

Francis I. who in the latter part of his life became an oeconomiſt, prohibited the wearing of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which prohibition was afterwards renewed by Henry II. but had theſe laws been ſtrictly obſerved, they would have ruined the manufacture of Lyons. What chiefly determined the government to enact theſe laws was the conſideration of being obliged to have all the ſilk from foreigners. In the reign of Henry II. none but biſhops were permitted to wear ſilk.

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The princes and princeſſes had the diſtinguiſhing privilege of wearing dreſſes of red ſilk or woollen ſtuff. At length, in the year 1563, none but princes and biſhops were allowed to wear ſhoes made of ſilk.

All theſe ſumptuary laws only ſhew that the views of the government were very narrow, and that the miniſters thought it eaſier to put a check to induſtry than to encourage it.

Mulberry-trees were then cultivated only in Italy and Spain, and gold wire was made no where but at Milan and Venice; and yet the French faſhions had already inſinuated themſelves into the courts of Germany, England, and Lombardy. The Italian hiſtorians complain, that after the journey which Charles VIII. made into Italy, the people affected to dreſs themſelves after the French faſhion, and ſent to France for all their ornaments.

Pope Julius II. was the firſt who let his beard grow, in order to inſpire the people with a greater reſpect to his perſon by a ſingularity of appearance. Francis I. Charles V. and all the other kings followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers: but thoſe of the long robe, who always keep to the antient cuſtoms, whatever they are, ſtill continued to ſhave their beards, while the young military people affected an air of gravity and age. This is a trifling obſervation; but it claims a place in the hiſtory of cuſtoms.

But that which is more worthy the attention of poſterity, and of far greater conſideration than all the cuſtoms introduced by caprice, all the laws which time has aboliſhed, or the diſputes of crowned heads, which ceaſe with them-

themſelves, is the reputation of the arts, which will never ceaſe. This reputation was, during the ſixteenth century, the lot of Italy alone. Nothing more ſtrongly calls to our mind the idea of ancient Greece; for as the arts flouriſhed in Greece in the midſt of foreign and domeſtic wars, ſo they did likewiſe in Italy, and almoſt all of them were carried to an height of perfection at the time that Rome was ſacked by the troops of Charles V. its coaſts laid waſte by the incurſions of Barbaroſſa, and the heart of the country rent in pieces by the diſſentions between the princes and the republics.

Italy had a Thucydides in Guicciardini, who wrote the wars of his time, as Thucydides did thoſe of Peloponneſus; but none of its provinces produced any orators like Demoſthenes, Pericles, and Æſchines, the government not admitting of that kind of merit any where. The dramatic talent indeed, though far inferior to that which has ſince been found on the French ſtage, might be compared to that of Greece, which ſeemed revived here: and the Mandragora of Machiavel alone is perhaps worth all the comedies of Ariſtophanes. Machiavel was beſides, an excellent hiſtorian, and a perſon of great parts, in which reſpect Ariſtophanes is by no means to be compared to him; and if, without being biaſſed by prejudice, we put Homer's Odyſſey, and Arioſto's Orlando into the balance, the Italian will be found to carry the prize from both; though guilty of the ſame defect with them, that of an intemperate imagination, and a romantic credibility. Arioſto has compenſated for this defect by ſuch juſt allegories

legories, ſuch nice ſatire, ſo thorough a *know*-ledge of the human heart, ſo many comic graces, which are continually ſucceeding to the ſtrong-eſt ſtrokes of terror, and, in a word, by ſuch *in*-numerable beauties of every kind, that he has found the ſecret of forming a monſter that we cannot but admire.

With regard to the Iliad, let every reader aſk himſelf what he would think if he was to read for the firſt time, this poem, and Taſſo's Jeruſalem, without knowing the name of the authors, or the time when thoſe works were compoſed, and to judge only from the pleaſure he felt. Could he do otherwiſe than give the preference to Taſſo in all reſpects? Will he not find in the Italian more conduct, more intereſts, more variety, more juſtneſs, and a greater number of graces, with that delicacy which ſo enhances the ſublime? In a few ages more, perhaps, they will be no longer placed in compariſon.

It appears beyond contradiction, that painting was in the ſixteenth century carried to a degree of perfection never known to the Greeks, who not only wanted that variety of colouring uſed by the Italians, but were alſo ignorant of the art of perſpective and clair obſure *.

* It favours rather too much of preſumption, to affirm the antients were deficient in theſe reſpects; inaſmuch as we know not the extent of their art: but that they were not ignorant of perſpective, appears from ſome pieces of their painting, lately dug from the ruins of Herculaneum: and even if theſe had never ſeen the light, it would not have been difficult to diſprove, from Pliny and other antient authors, the common opinions entertained about the imperfections of the Greek painters.

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Sculpture, which is a more limited art, and eaſier to be attained, was that in which the Greeks principally excelled; and it is the glory of the Italians to have come neareſt of all others to their models. They have ſurpaſſed them in architecture; and, by the conſent of all nations, nothing was ever comparable to the chief temple of modern Rome, which is the moſt beautiful, ſpacious, and noble edifice that ever appeared in the world.

Muſic was not thoroughly cultivated till after the ſixteenth century; but we have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to imagine that it is very far ſuperior to that of the Greeks, as they have left no monument of this art by which we can gather that they ſung in parts.

Ingraving upon copper-plate, which was invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, was an art entirely new, and at that time in its perfection. The Germans had the reputation of having invented printing, nearly about the time when engraving was known, by which ſingle piece of ſervice they encreaſed the knowledge of mankind. The Engliſh writers of the Univerſal Hiſtory are miſtaken in ſaying that Fauſt was condemned by the parliament of Paris to be burnt for a magician. It is certain that certain factors who came to Paris to ſell the firſt books that were printed were accuſed of dealing in the black art, but this accuſation had no conſequences; and it is only a melancholy proof of the wretched ignorance in which men were then plunged, and which even this art of printing could not for a long time get the better of. The parliament in 1474 ordered all the books

books which had been brought to Paris by one of the factors from Mentz, to be ſeized; and Lewis XI. was obliged to forbid the parliament from meddling with the affair, and to pay the proprietors the price of their books.

It was not till the end of this glorious century that true philoſophy began to beam upon mankind; Galileo was the firſt who made natural philoſophy ſpeak the language of truth and reaſon. Not long before, Copernicus had, on the borders of Poland, diſcovered the true ſyſtem of the world. Galileo was not only the firſt good natural philoſopher, but he wrote at the ſame time with as much elegance as Plato; and had this ineſtimable advantage over the Greek philoſopher, that he wrote only of true and intelligible matters. The manner in which this great man was treated by the inquiſition, towards the latter part of his life, would reflect eternal infamy upon Italy, had not the ſtain been partly effaced by the reputation of Galileo himſelf. Seven inquiſitors, by a decree made in the year 1616, declared the opinion of Copernicus, which had been ſo clearly and ſo beautifully explained by the Italian philoſopher, "Not only heretical in point of faith, but abſurd in philoſophy." This condemnation of a truth, which has ſince been demonſtrated in ſo many ways, is a ſtrong proof of the force of prejudice, and ought to teach thoſe who have no other merit but their power, to be ſilent when true philoſophy ſpeaks, and not pretend to decide concerning what they do not underſtand. Galileo was afterwards condemned by this ſame tribunal to ſuffer impriſonment

ment and do penance, and was obliged to retract his opinion upon his knees. His ſentence was indeed more mild than that of Socrates, but it reflected as much diſgrace on the reaſon of the judges of Rome, as the condemnation of Socrates did on the underſtandings of the judges of Athens. It has always been the fate of mankind, that truth ſhould be perſecuted at its firſt appearance. Philoſophy by being thus curbed could not make ſo great a progreſs in the ſixteenth century as the polite arts.

The religious diſputes which employed the minds of the people in Germany, in the North, and in France and England, checked the advancement of human reaſon, inſtead of furthering it. People who fought with blind fury could not find out the road to truth; and theſe diſputes proved an additional malady in the human mind. The liberal arts continued to flouriſh in Italy, becauſe the contagion of controverſy had not found its way thither; and it happened that while the people of France, Germany, and England, were cutting the throats of each other, for things which they did not underſtand, Italy at reſt from her troubles, after the ſacking of Rome, by Charles V. cultivated the arts more than ever; and while religious wars ſpread ruin over other parts, at Rome, and in ſeveral other of the cities of Italy, architecture ſignalized itſelf by prodigies. Ten popes ſucceſſively, and almoſt without interruption, contributed to the finiſhing the cathedral church of Saint Peter, and encouraged all the other arts. Nothing like this was ſeen in

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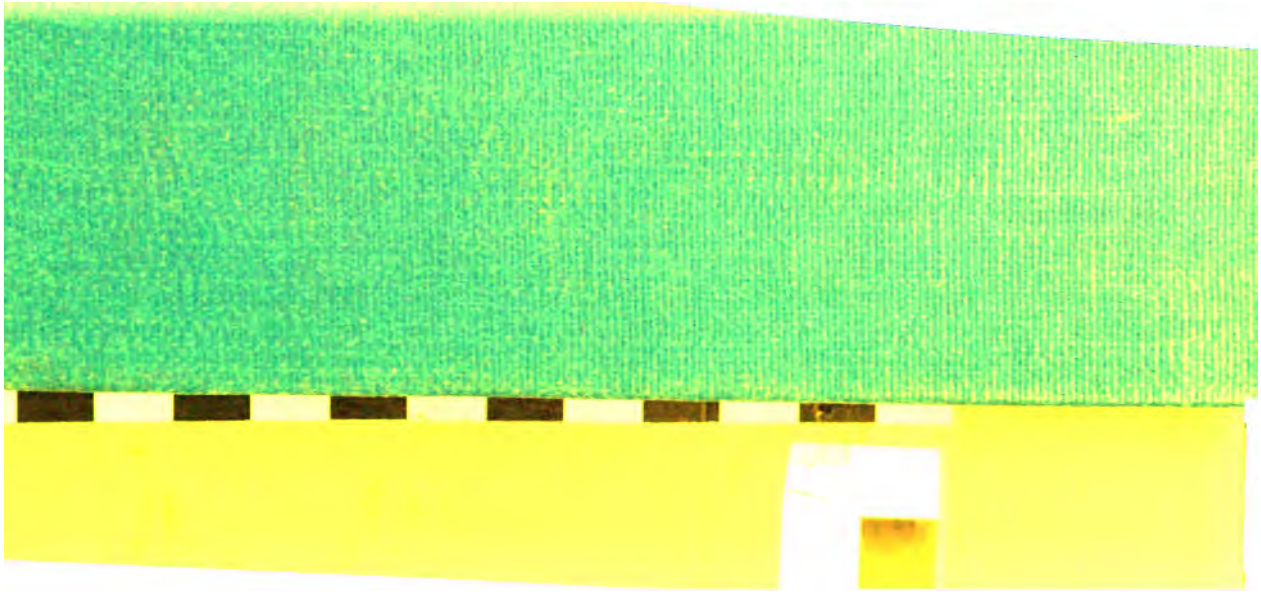
any other part of Europe. In a word, the reputation for genius belonged at this time to Italy alone, as it had formerly been the peculiar privilege of ancient Greece.

The END of VOL. III.

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